AINU
CREED AND CULT

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by

Neil Gordon Munro

Edited with a preface
and an additional chapter by
B. Z. SELIGMAN

Introduction by
H. WATANABE

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PREFACE

by B. Z. Seligman

NEIL GORDON MUNRO was born in Edinburgh in 1863, where he was educated and eventually studied medicine. Soon after qualifying he began to travel in the Far East, first in India and later in Japan. In 1893 he became director of the General Hospital in Yokohama, and, although he returned to Europe occasionally, from that time until his death he made Japan his home. He became interested in Japanese prehistory, and it was during his many visits to Hokkaido towards the end of last century and in the first two decades of this century that he met the Ainu. 114

His published works are as follows:

Primitive culture in Japan, Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 34, 1906. [113]
Prehistoric Japan, Yokohama, 1908; Edinburgh, 1911.
Reflections on some European Palaeoliths and Japanese Survivals, Yokohama, 1909.
Some Origins and Survivals, Yokohama, 1911.
Various articles on the Ainu in *Nature* and other journals.

He presented his valuable collection of prehistoric remains to the Edinburgh Museum.

Munro became Chief Medical Officer in charge of the sanatorium at Karuizawa, a hill station in Japan. For many years, in the season when the calls on his professional services at Karuizawa permitted, he made long visits to Hokkaido. His main interest shifted from prehistory to the living conditions of the Ainu. He deplored the state of these hardy people who had been forced to give up their hunting and food-gathering life to gain a bare subsistence from agriculture. They were impoverished, were [178]

114 [178] becoming degenerate owing to alcohol and loss of interest in life, and were declining in numbers.

When in Japan in 1929 my husband, the late Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., met Munro, he was distressed to learn that all Munro's notes on the Ainu, his specimens and photographs, had been lost in the great earthquake of 1923. At the same time, he had suffered severe financial loss and was unable to continue his Ainu studies at his own expense. Seligman was convinced of the value of Munro's accurate observation and of his intimate knowledge of the Ainu people. On his return to England he applied for funds to [122] the Rockefeller Foundation to enable Munro to continue his investigations. Funds were granted in 1930, and Munro immediately had a small house built at Nibutani in the Saru district of Hokkaido, and settled there, with his Japanese wife, to make an intensive study of the Ainu.

[123] His method of work was to open a clinic—in which he was aided by his wife, a trained hospital nurse—and to give free treatment to all who flocked to him. Having gained the confidence of the [115] Ainu, he kept open house for all who came there to gossip, sing songs, tell legends and talk of past times. He was thus acquainted with a number of elders (*ekashi*), who became his regular informants, and to whom he referred as friends and teachers.

In December 1932 a second misfortune befel Munro. Before dawn one morning his thatched house at Nibutani was burnt down. He and his wife escaped from the flames, and managed to save a tin box in which he kept his Ainu notes, but all his belongings, his books, his photographic and other scientific material, were destroyed. Exposure to the bitter cold of the Hokkaido winter impaired Munro's health, and the disaster left him all but penniless. However, he did not give in.

[122] Seligman applied for further grants. In 1933 the Rockefeller Foundation made another contribution, and grants were made by the Royal Society and the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The Asiatic Society of Japan sent a donation. A small committee for the British Association was formed, and this now comprises Professor Daryll Forde, Lord Raglan, F.S.A., Mr Arthur D. Waley, C.H., C.B.E., F.B.A., with myself as chairman.

Munro's health deteriorated. It is not quite clear in which years he returned to Karuizawa to do a summer season's work at the sanatorium and when he remained throughout the year in Hok-

kaido, but some time in 1934 he wrote saying he intended to remain 114
in the Ainu country permanently.

In his letters he mentioned that he had recorded in the Ainu 114
language, and translated, a large number of songs and legends,
fifty invocations for the treatment of various ailments, many treatments 126
for difficult childbirth, and descriptions of ceremonies and exorcism rites. He had also made notes on music and pastimes. He took some films when interesting ceremonies were held in the neighbourhood, and as he was not satisfied with these he engaged a professional photographer to work under his direction, while taking stills himself. Munro also mentioned that films were taken of rites and ceremonies connected with fertility, pregnancy, parturition, spirit possession and the treatment of diseases; also of ritual dancing and the Beer-straining and the Bear Ceremony. Unfortunately, only the last of these films reached this country. It is now in the possession of the Royal Anthropological Institute, where it was shown on the 10th January 1933. Recently, a positive was made from the original negative, and was shown in Athens in September 1961, at a meeting of the Comité International du Film Ethnographique et Sociologique.

The Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rites. Munro 114
witnessed it several times but did not include a description for his 796
book. He did mention, however, that the part of it which is performed inside the house is similar to the House-warming Ceremony, and he sent a photograph (Pl. XIII,) of the *inau* set up for
the rite. For it, a bear cub was caught and tended with great care [776]
and reverence, and actually treated as the representative of the god,
or perhaps the god (*kamui*) itself. When grown to suitable size, the [825]
caged bear was killed ritually. It seemed a serious omission for a book on Ainu religion to have no account of the most important rite. I have therefore added an account made from the captions Munro wrote for his film (Appendix II).

Munro also saw, on many occasions, the ritual with which a 114
hunted bear was killed, but neither is there a written account of [224]
this. There is a short description of the former rite by Batchelor, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 249.

Various adverse circumstances made the progress of work slower than Munro expected. The rigorous climate and the hard and lonely conditions of life at Nibutani told severely on his health.
Seligman raised money from private sources to enable him to carry [122]

PREFACE

114 on until about 1938 when Munro sent him the bulk of his manu-
[122] script. Although it was arranged in book form, it was not complete
nor fully prepared for publication, and none of the subjects mentioned above was included. Correspondence continued until it was broken off abruptly by Japan's entry into the war in 1941. After the war I received information from the British Consulate that Munro had died in April 1942, and that his wife's address could not be traced.

I know from numerous references to her in Munro's letters that
his wife had been a great support to him, not only in looking after
his health but also in his work. An elder had mentioned to Munro
292 that women could exercise magical power by means of a secret
girdle (*upshoro kut*), which they wore under their clothes. Because
114 of the confidence the Ainu women felt in Mrs Munro, he was able
789 to follow this subject up, and discovered that these girdles played
an important part in Ainu social organization. Mrs Munro was
able to persuade Ainu women to weave exact copies of five of them,
and these have been given to the British Museum. It was in 1934
[611] that a number of articles by Munro appeared in the *Japanese*
[582] *Advertiser* on Ainu customs, in which he mentioned the matri-
lineal descent of the secret girdles, their magical power and their
use in regulating exogamy.

114 Munro's object in writing a book on the Ainu was not only to give an account of his careful observations of the people and their customs, but also to demonstrate to the world at large, and the Japanese in particular, that the Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration, and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd superstitions. He emphasized this view, and when recording beliefs or ritual that might appear irrational, he took pains to compare them with European folk customs. In fact, he intended the book to be 'A Plea for Toleration', as one of his unpublished articles was entitled. To readers of this book such a plea should be unnecessary, and the parallels have been omitted.

114 Munro's investigation was carried out at Nibutani in the Saru
115 River valley in south Hokkaido, but he worked with informants
from other districts, and made several visits to Kitami in the north. He intended to go to Sakhalin in order to make investigations there, but was never able to do so. His chief informants were elderly men and women still versed in Ainu lore. But for Munro's efforts, much

of their knowledge would have died with them, as the old way of life was fast disappearing under growing Japanese influence, and with new conditions the old rituals, beliefs and legends were neglected. It is unlikely that any of his informants are alive today. 114 [115]

Munro sent an excellent series of photographs, many of which are reproduced in this volume, but unfortunately, only the prints reached this country, and I have been unable to trace the negatives. The prints and all his original manuscript will be deposited at the Royal Anthropological Institute. [126]

Publication during the war was not possible, and afterwards, the difficulty remained of finding someone competent to revise the manuscript. It was fortunate that Mr Hitoshi Watanabe, a lecturer in the Anthropological Institute of the Faculty of Science at the University of Tokyo, who had come to London to study at University College, was eventually able to go through it. He had been a research member of the Tokyo Joint Research Committee on the Ainu, and had carried out field work in four expeditions from 1950 to 1952, so his assistance has been of great value. Besides making general comments on the manuscript, he has added footnotes drawn from his own experience, and from Japanese and other sources, and has written an historical introduction to this book.

Although Mr Watanabe saw the work as prepared by Munro, he did not see the other articles and papers. He criticized many details and one major interpretation made by Munro. Most of these differences, and all his additional information, are incorporated in footnotes. In considering the differences, some facts must be taken into account. As already mentioned above, Munro visited the Ainu country in the early decades of this century, and went to live among them in 1930, making Nibutani his home until he died there twelve years later. Already in the thirties he found that the younger generation was not keeping up the old customs, and his reliable informants were all old people. His information was based on events seen and heard, supplemented by discussion with elders. When the Tokyo Joint Research Committee made their investigations in the fifties, religious ideas may have been known more as theological systems than as living belief. This may account for some of the major differences in interpretation. As to the differences in facts, Munro pointed out that his records referred to those districts with which he was familiar, and to others from which he [198]

114 had reliable information; he expected the existence of local variations.

114 The chief difference in interpretation is in regard to the spiritual
essence in vegetation. Munro states that Shiramba Kamui is the
774 god of vegetation and that all vegetation derives *ramat* (spirit or
776 soul) from him. Trees have *ramat*, thus wood also has *ramat*. Some
824 kinds of wood have more spiritual power than others, hence are
more sacred, and are specially valuable for certain purposes. Mr Watanabe states that every plant is the 'incarnation of a spirit, all beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *kamui*-spirits. . . . In the country of the *kamui* they take human form . . . and live as human beings.' When they visit the Ainu 'they disguise themselves as trees and grass, etc.'. The ceremony translated in this book as 'ritual dismissal' sends the spirit home to the land of the *kamui*. According to Mr Watanabe, the sacred objects made of vegetable
114 matter derive their virtue from the spirit of the individual plant
825 from which they are made, not from Shiramba Kamui.

With regard to the animal world, the difference in interpreta-
776 tion is not so great. Munro does not suggest that the Ainu believe
that all animals are *kamui*, but that there are good and bad animals
of the same species, and this is specially noted of bears, snakes,
[782] foxes and hornets. Protection from bad animals can be obtained
by appealing to their *kamui* chiefs, who can restrain their own bad subordinates.

114 Differences in spelling also occur, mostly in regard to labials,
palatals and gutturals. Munro transliterates them as b, d and g
104 (Shiramba, *iomande* and *ongami*), Mr Watanabe as p, t and k. I
have retained Munro's spelling, and for the sake of consistency have had to alter Mr Watanabe's. In support of this decision, I may mention that Nibutani is the official postal address for the village in which Munro lived.

114 It was Munro's intention to write a complete historical and cultural account of the Ainu, as well as descriptions of their technology. He called it *Ainu Past and Present*. However, after consideration of the material at our disposal, our committee came to the conclusion that it was best to include in this book only that part of his work which deals with ritual and belief and their effect on Ainu daily life. An article on the 'Building of an Ainu House', compiled by Lord Raglan from Munro's notes, was published in *Man*, Vol. LIX, No. 285, October 1959. It is hoped that other

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notes on hunting techniques, weaving, and other activities may be published in due course. 114

Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 11 remain more or less as Munro wrote them. 114 In chapters 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 I have rearranged valuable 128 material contained in some separate articles that Munro wrote (but as far as I know never published), as well as information scattered about in his original work, and notes from numerous letters to C. G. Seligman. Munro did not realize the importance of some of his own observations with regard to ancestor worship, matriliny and patriliny. (And, I may add, that I did not do so myself until I had been through all his manuscripts and letters several times.) I have therefore written Chapter XII on Social Organization, bringing together all the information I have been able to collect on the subject from Munro's own work, as well as that from the Japanese writers, who, working in the field some years after Munro, were able to follow up on scientific lines Munro's information on the secret girdles. The reader may find Chapters 2, 3 and 4 heavy going. *Kamui*, *inau* and the effigies are (or were still in the thirties of this century) vitally important to the Ainu, and the careful descriptions and photographs are a tribute to Munro's integrity. Should anyone care to skip these chapters, interest will doubtless arise later, and these chapters may be used only for reference.

Through the efforts of Mr Hugh Gibb when he was in Japan, 114 I was able to get in touch with Mrs Munro in October 1959. She was delighted to know that her husband's work on the Ainu was to be published at long last. She wrote that Signor Fosco Maraini had been in Nibutani at the time of her husband's death and that she had entrusted him with a rucksack full of typescript. I had great hopes that the missing material referred to in Munro's letters, and perhaps the valuable films, might at last come to light, and wrote to Signor Maraini via his publisher. Six months later he came to London and brought me the rucksack. Unfortunately, it only contained a carbon copy of the book prepared by Munro and a few legends and invocations which have been included here as Appendix I.

My thanks are due to all members of the British Association's 128 Committee: to Professor Forde for going through the original typescript of Munro's book and for giving assistance to Mr Watanabe; to Arthur Waley for checking the spelling and translation

PREFACE

of Ainu and Japanese words; and especially to Lord Raglan, who, in a revision and rearrangement of this work, did much to render it more concise. He has also prepared the index.

I must thank Mr W. H. Gilbert of the Library of Congress, Washington, for an up-to-date bibliography on the Ainu. Miss Kirkpatrick, Librarian of the Royal Anthropological Institute, has kindly helped me check this list, and we have decided only to include those works directly bearing on the subject matter of this book. Unfortunately, we have been unable to include works in Japanese and Russian which have neither titles nor summaries in English.

B. Z. S.

London, 1962

INTRODUCTION

by Hitoshi Watanabe

THE AINU are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, 101
southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. They have 161
been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and long
heads. In 1939 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated at 142
160,000, and there had probably been little change since 1854.
There were possibly another 10,000 scattered in the other
islands.

Hokkaido is an island of about 30,000 square miles, situated 131
north of the main Japanese island of Honshu, between 41° 30′ N.
and 45° 30′ N. and 140–145° E. The northern end of Hokkaido is
about twenty nautical miles away from Sakhalin, and to the north-east
the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The 132
climate of Hokkaido is sub-arctic; yearly mean temperature varies
between 5·2° C. and 7·6° C., with a long snow season from
November to May. The island is well wooded with fir, spruce, 137
birch, oak and elm. Most of the rivers rise in a range of mountains 133
which runs through the centre of the island from north to south.
Grizzly bear and deer are found in the mountains, and salmon run 136
in most rivers from May till October. In the past the Ainu lived 22
mainly by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants and
berries.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese is of long standing 648
and has taken different forms. Before 1599 contact must have been limited. In 1599 Japanese who had established their headquarters in the south-western end (Matsumae) of Hokkaido were recognized as the Japanese Matsumae clan by the Tokugawa Shogunate. They were given rights of ownership in this and the adjacent area as the clan territory (Matsumae-chi). Settlement of Ainu in the area was

648 prohibited except for those already established there. Japanese civilians were also prohibited from living outside this area in the [439] Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu, and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, thread, lacquer ware, trinkets, etc. for salmon, skins, craft objects and certain goods from the mainland such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing.

During this period, the Ainu retained their independence. But in 1799 this part of Hokkaido was brought under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate in order to protect Japanese interests from Russian mercantile aggression. In those days, foreign vessels (Dutch, Russian, English and French) were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization in the northern Pacific became active. The Tokugawa Government became aware of the Russian colonization in the Kurile Islands (1771). A Russian ship came to the coast of Hokkaido in the hope of establishing commercial relations (1779). Thereafter, Russia sent her representatives to Japan, hoping to enter into diplomatic relations (Lacsman in 1792 and Resanov in 1804). The trading stations became military posts and the Japanese established a limited administrative organization in Ainu territory, but did little to interfere in their internal affairs, except as required for defence. Trade continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae again ad- [464] ministered the territory and continued this policy. Ainu were employed by the Japanese at these coastal posts. From 1854 to 1867 the south-western part of Hokkaido was again under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

177 Before 1854 the Japanese had little effect upon Ainu culture, except in the distribution of Japanese goods. But in 1868 the island became a part of the territory of Japan, and thus began a process of Japanese colonization which greatly changed Ainu culture. Today the Ainu language is rarely spoken, and then only by the aged; pure-blood Ainu are nearly extinct; and the whole traditional economy has been profoundly altered.

648 177 The Japanese Government established administrative headquarters in Hokkaido. The Ainu were included in Japanese census registers and their territory became Government property with land laws enacted to grant plots of land both to Ainu and to Japanese settlers. The Ainu were forbidden to fish for salmon or

to hunt deer and bear. The Government encouraged Japanese 648
settlers to take up farms and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and 177
hunters used techniques which were more advanced than those of the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. As a result of these changes, the resources on which Ainu had depended for subsistence became inadequate. Game and fish resources decreased, food-collecting sites were broken up, and from 1884 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu to take up agriculture. Each household was allotted a plot of land, given agricultural [657]
implements and seed and taught agricultural techniques by specialist Japanese officials.

Before this date the coastal Hokkaido Ainu had farmed by shifting 241
cultivation, but only on a small scale, and probably under 177
Japanese influence. The cultivation of millet, the main crop, was done by women. After the snow melted, suitable plots on river banks were cleared with small wooden picks (*shittap*), and sown without ridging. Weeding was done only between sowing and harvest. Millet was harvested by cutting off the heads with a shell knife (*pipa*). The area cultivated by a household was probably between 240 and 360 square metres. When the soil was exhausted, the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared; there appears to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in this period. Once a person had cultivated a plot of land it was called 'the place which is expected to be cultivated by so-and-so'. The cultivator could control the use of the plot and the crop until it was abandoned. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area [184]
to area.[1]

The more general acceptance of agriculture by the Ainu, with 241
the encouragement of the Japanese administration after 1884, 177
resulted in considerable displacement of traditional groupings, 182
since these had depended on areas suitable for fishing, hunting, and collecting, rather than on terrain suitable for farming. The old food-gathering system, especially that of hunting and fishing, had been closely linked with the religious beliefs of the Ainu. So long [771]
as it remained untouched, down to 1884, the religion of the Ainu

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[1] Takakura (1942) says that early Japanese documents reported this type of agriculture as practised by the Ainu in the south-western area of the island. [175]
The origin of the old agricultural system is unknown, but it may have been learned from the Japanese. The grounds for such an hypothesis are that the area is nearest to the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and that contact between the Ainu and the Japanese had been one of long duration.

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241
177

771 remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

621 [594] [162] 361 The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

621 423 [184] A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

226 796 621 [774] Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

224 825 796 Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

648 175 It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

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[613] [622] [114] [1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uko hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

throne complains of the drain on the treasury caused by constant 648
fighting with the Ainu. The neighbourhood of Akita was laid waste
by them; they 'gathered together like ants, but dispersed like 175
birds'. The Ainu inflicted heavy casualties on the Japanese in 789.
Two years later a stronger and better organized force was successful in driving the enemy northwards. In 811 a commander was praised for 'destroying the lairs of the barbarians and exterminating the tribe'. Ainu chieftains were put to death, other prisoners were banished to the extreme south.

From these records the question of Ainu chieftainship arises, and the capacity of a non-agricultural people to combine in such force. Sansom suggests that pioneer Japanese settlers in the north of Honshu may have combined with the Ainu and organized their resistance.

Since the translation of the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* into English by 114
Mr. John A. Harrison and its publication,[1] information concerning 648
the earliest contacts with the Ainu in Hokkaido have been available
to western readers. Professor Takakura's motive in spending many 175
years in research on the subject of Japanese and Ainu contacts, and Japanese colonial policy, was similar to that of Munro. Both men were distressed by the miserable condition of the Ainu, cut off from their traditional means of livelihood. Professor Takakura was insensed that, during his youth, 'nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu'.

He records that in 1514, when the founder of the Matsumae family settled in Hokkaido, the Japanese settlements were already fortified against attack from the Ainu.

The Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of Honshu), who had been powerful 175
in the ninth century, had been almost exterminated, and their
remnants were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth 648
century. Some contact with the Ainu of Hokkaido had been established by the Japanese at the end of the eighth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that numbers of Japanese immigrants settled in South Hokkaido. Hokkaido then became a Japanese trading colony. When the Matsumae clan was granted a decree [224]
of enfeofment in 1604 the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing; [226]
they bred dogs, both for hunting and haulage; they used stone and [231]

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[1] Takakura, Shinichiro, *The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation*, translated and annotated by John A. Harrison, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April 1960. [412]

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648 bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and
[412] feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and
[294] Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated,
[434] probably introduced by the Japanese.

[243] Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are mentioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred
[177] or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu
[627] of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they
[643] considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However, they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

648 Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions against any kind of personal contact with the native population to
177 periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal
[464] trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind, which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the
[251] periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were, from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961

I

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to describe any aspect of Ainu life without 771 reference to ritual practices. The Ainu were, and many still are, saturated with animistic beliefs and these beliefs lead them to have recourse to ritual on so many occasions that some understanding of their relations with the spirit world is necessary for an adequate description of any aspect of their life. Social organization, hearth and home, hunting and fishing, festivals, disease, psychic ailments, medicines, birth, death and funeral observances—all demand some special reference to religious and magical procedures. To the Ainu all life is based on established beliefs, most of which involve supplication to the spirit powers in which they [782] trust. In the present chapter I shall deal with these fundamental [128] ideas, and follow this with a brief description of the usual methods of securing good will and help while reserving for later chapters details of particular rites designed to assist the good spirits in resisting evil.

The Ainu have no priesthood; the head of the family carries out [793] the traditional ritual, and the home is the place of worship. [592]

Three Ainu words indicate the main features of Ainu religion: 771 *ramat*, *kamui* and *inau*. The significance of the two former is somewhat variable, but the first always, and the second usually, refers to 192 invisible spirit powers. The third, *inau* (offering), is a hand-made object, a stick to which shavings are attached. It is made as an offering to a *kamui* (god or spirit), and is itself sacred. There is a great variety of these *inau*; they play an important part in Ainu life and ritual and will be described in detail later. A group of these

771 *inau* is called *nusa*, a word which will occur frequently in this
192 work.

Ramat (literally, heart) is a word that cannot be translated, and
771 stands for a concept not easy to describe. The nearest English
774 equivalents are soul or spirit. I will quote the explanations given
me by some of my informants, all learned elders (*ekashi*). Kotan-
192 Pira said *ramat* was the backbone of Ainu religion. Rennuikesh, eighty years old, very active and intelligent, who came from the north of Hokkaido, said: 'Whatever has no *ramat* has nothing'. Nisukrek and other elders agreed with this: '*Ramat* is all-pervading and indestructible'. Uesanash said: '*Ramat* is everywhere'. It varies vastly in amount and concentration; for example, as one elder put it, *ramat* in the seed of a plant is not like that in a man. It is liable to shift from one place to another but is never diminished throughout all changes of position. I find no better all-round description than in the lines of Wordsworth:

> A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things.

When objects are burnt or broken, *ramat* vacates them. When living things—men, animals, trees or plants—die, *ramat* leaves them and goes elsewhere, but does not perish. On this account weapons and utensils buried with the dead are often broken so that their *ramat* may accompany the deceased.

Ainu religion in general perspective presents every phase of
animistic belief. Pervasion of everything by *ramat* provides reason
[778] for faith in amulets. The skulls of certain animals stuffed with
sacred curled shavings (*inau-kike*) serve to retain concentrated *ramat*.

Of similar meaning to *ramat* is *inotu*, translated by Batchelor as
'life'. This word is known to few elders, but is often met with in
the ancient songs known in the Hokkaido as *yukara*. Like *ramat*,
this word, as used in the songs, implies life extended to inanimate
things which, being broken, also 'die'. It was more often applied,
however, to persons. None of my informants has identified life or
spirit with breath, nor have they the conviction that there is a
connection between the life of a person and his shadow. They
recognize, of course, that arrest of breathing is proof of death, but
[828] maintain that when a person is asleep, in a faint, or unconscious
from any cause, *ramat* leaves the body and may not return. In

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such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul). 774 [828]

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*. [776] [822]

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu. 771 776

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*). [115] [753] [789] [782]

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774 In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat*
782 of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resent-
825 ment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all, and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off
[796] with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal (*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.[1]

776 To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by
787 spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

Kamui operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power.
774 There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one
776 closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants,
782 quite distinct from it, is *mawe*. In prayers soliciting help against
787 evil spirits I have found *mawe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and, like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture, though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

756 Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so translated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grandmother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense this is not incorrect.[2] The rites which they perform, and the nature

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[776] [825] [1] The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon, the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirkap* and the *sisam*. The bear, the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[787] [2] In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit. Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

of the materials employed therein may be regarded as more efficacious 756
than mere supplications of the good *kamui*, but they never
perform rites without previously making supplication. Divination [787]
(*esaman-ki*) by means of an otter's head is also well known. Sorcery [789]
was certainly practised by some elders, but sometimes merely for
protection, and I am told that those who used it for evil ends were [754]
ostracized.[1] A sorcerer at Mukawa maintained that he had no evil
powers himself but that he employed evil spirits (*wen kamui*). He
carried a bone which had been used by his great-grandfather, to
protect himself against these spirits.

I have found no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the 771
Ainu, though, as stated by Batchelor,[2] sometimes they are cajoled 776
and placated as a means of getting rid of them.[3] It is possible that
in former times an isolated Ainu, practising sorcery, worshipped [782]
the evil spirits, but having witnessed many of the rites directed against such spirits, and being familiar with the sentiments uttered in prayers against them, I cannot believe that anything like demon worship was ever general in Ainu religion. All the elders whom I have interrogated emphatically deny it. Many Ainu still believe that most of the ills and ailments of life are due to evil spirits, and what remains of active religion is chiefly concerned with means for repelling or expelling them.

While a rigid classification of *kamui*, recognized as such by the Ainu, is not feasible, some arrangement will aid description. It need hardly be said that in polytheistic religions there is much latitude in choosing gods for general, as well as for special help, so

sent by Munro is one of a flat Siberian-type drum, labelled 'A Shaman's drum, used in exorcism rites in Sakhalin'. But no further information or comment is given.—B.Z.S.

[1] It is said that there were two kinds of sorcery among the Ainu, *onitak* which aimed at killing people and *ponitak* which aimed at causing harm or trouble. The details of these sorceries are unknown, but they are said to have consisted of phrases used originally by evil deities. *Ponitak* was known by a few old men who used it to harm or hypnotize people, as well as game such as the bear and seal, but it was believed to react adversely upon the sorcerers and their relatives. It was not allowed in public, and good men were afraid of knowing anything about it (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, p. 105, The Imperial Academy of Japan, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *Ainus*, Vol. I, pp. 239–52.

[3] It is said that in the Saru basin an evil deity called Chikapipenta-ekashi amba Kamui was formerly besought in prayer to hypnotize enemies during a night attack, then a frequent occurrence and that his worship, with offerings of *inau*, etc. continued till quite recent times (Natori, *Hoppo-Bunka*, No. 4, pp. 40–1).—H.W.

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771 long as this does not reflect upon the standing of any god worshipped by the community in general. Though there are some places where such preference is marked, in no place visited by me is the ancestral cult with its concomitant worship of the hearth spirit neglected for other *kamui*. The following classification is proposed:

1. Remote and traditional *kamui*.
2. Familiar or accessible and trustworthy *kamui*.
3. Subsidiary *kamui*.
4. Theriomorphic *kamui*.
5. Spirit helpers and personal *kamui*.
6. Mischievous and malicious *kamui*.
7. *Kamui* of pestilence.
8. Things of unutterable horror.

Among the *kamui* are certain gods associated with the firmament. The chief of these is Kando-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Sky, who deputed Moshiri-kara Kamui to prepare the world, that is to say the land of the Ainu. Batchelor regards the existence of this high god as proof that the Ainu fell into polytheism from a pristine monotheism, though still professing belief in the 'one true God'. He tells us that this 'God of gods' is the 'Creator and Possessor of Heaven', and that the Ainu gave him the name of Pase-Kamui. He states that Pase-Kamui may be addressed also as Kotan-kara Kamui, Moshiri-kara Kamui and Kando-koro Kamui. He concludes:

> Thus far then, we have reached a real basis for two articles of Ainu belief, viz.
>
> (*a*) I believe in one supreme God, the Creator of all worlds and places, who is the Possessor of Heaven, whom we call *Pase Kamui*, 'The true God' . . .
>
> (*b*) I believe also in the existence of a multitude of inferior deities (*kamui*), all subject to this one Creator, who are His servants, who receive their life and power from Him, and who act and govern the world under Him.[1]

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[192] [1] Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 140. It should be noted that *kara*, when used in compound names, means 'maker' or 'creator', and *koro* means 'owner' or 'possessor'. Except in the case of Moshiri-kara Kamui Munro does not use the particle *kara*. But Mr Watanabe collates Kotan-kara Kamui with A-e-oina Kamui as a creator, thus following Batchelor's interpretation. It seems that the authorities quoted by Mr Watanabe also followed

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In presenting Pase-Kamui as the 'one true God' of Ainu belief, Batchelor has, it seems to me, in all sincerity adapted Ainu beliefs to his own, and it is probable that some Ainu, wishing to please him, echoed some of his religious teaching. The word *pase* means weighty or important. During my long residence at Nibutani I observed many ceremonies and discussed matters of belief with many elders of good standing, and was always told that there are many *pase-kamui*, of whom Kando-koro Kamui is one. So far as I know he gets no special worship anywhere, but whether or not there is any exception to this it is safe to say that the term *pase-kamui* is generally applied as an indication of reverence to at least a dozen *kamui*, and is never a name for one alone. 771 776

In the Saru and Mukawa districts, embracing a wide area, the following are recognized as *pase-kamui* by most elders, though not all are positive about every one in the list: Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui, Kotan-koro Kamui, Shinrit Kamui, Kanna Kamui, Kenru Katkimat, Chup Kamui, Imosh Kamui, and the important theriomorphic kamui Kim-un Kamui or Metot-ush Kamui (the Bear Kamui), Rep-un Kamui, Kinashut Kamui, Korokeu Kamui and Shitumbe Kamui. 771 776 184

In the north, Kanna Kamui, the thunder god, is given a special *inau*. There is an old saying that he fertilizes the soil, and this belief may be due to the traditional identification of lightning with the serpent. [821]

Storm gods are not worshipped. Gales from the east and south are believed to be sent by evil spirits, but, curiously, wind from the north is good. An old poem, quoted in full in *Man*, Mar. 1938,[1] seems to praise the north wind for having brought the ships of their ancestors to the present abode of the Ainu. 771 776 [583]

The sun, Chup Kamui (shining thing), formerly received much more worship than now, though the moon (darkness-shining, *kunna-chup*, night-shining, *an-chup*, or *tombe*[2]) as humble wife of the sun, appears to have been ignored. Many years ago, at Oshoro on the west coast of Hokkaido, I photographed and drew to scale 771 776 821

Batchelor. Munro does not mention Kotan-kara Kamui, but frequently refers to Kotan-koro Kamui, the Eagle-Owl Kamui. The importance of the cult of the Eagle Owl is referred to in Chapter XII, p. 153.—B.Z.S. [192]

[1] Munro, *Yaikurekarepa: an Old Ainu Oration*, *Man*, March 1938, No. 33.

[2] Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 1905.

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776 a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been
821 connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window
[342] is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate
with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme
over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to
[533] cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed
down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the
[782] arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north
an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline
[778] of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as
is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the
sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still
salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered
necessary.

[825] There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at
the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or
[796] star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the
spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am
told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few
names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River
Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'.
Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas
[778] of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north
or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising
some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly
bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things'
(*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they
lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the
Ancestral Host.

[789] I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward
happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic
ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought
to make it cease.

771 A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must
776 be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that
oina refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a
teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding
that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted
as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

descent from the sky with his spear of magic mugwort which no 771
enemy could withstand.[1] Perhaps identical with him is Okikurumi
Kamui, who shares most of his mythical achievements as pristine 776
teacher of the arts of life, and is the hero of legendary fights against
evil spirits and wicked men. The name Okikurumi has been thought
to be of Japanese origin, but need not be. Tales about both describe
them as wrapped in a cloud of smoke or mist in which they are
usually invisible but which sometimes opens for a moment to show
a person with tongues of flame rising to his sword belt. This refers
to a myth of origin from Kamui Fuchi, goddess of fire. The flames
do not burn, but merely indicate the virtue of the *kamui*. Whatever
name be assigned to him he is not, so far as I know, worshipped as
an ancestor, though venerated as a teacher and occasionally offered
inau and libations at big celebrations. The various myths of origin [782]
are not quite consistent, but all are agreed that he returned to the
sky after his task of teaching the Ainu was accomplished. One of
the finest of Ainu dances, performed only by women, represents [535]
the coming of A-e-oina Kamui. With arms raised high and grace-
fully waving they sing—'*Hi eranna, Kamui eranna. Hi eranna,* [533]
to-o-eranna': 'Yes, he descends, the god descends. Yes, he
descends, yonder he descends.'

It should be added that most of the *pase kamui* are believed to
have descended from the sky and will return there in fullness
of time, but these beliefs are nebulous, and vary from place to
place. The only trace of actual star worship I have found is that at [821]
the festival of Falling Tears there is secret worship of four deities
and among them is one called Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat,
which means 'the woman above the high clouds or above the way
of the clouds, divine wife'. I have not ascertained whether this
refers to a star or a constellation.

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[1] According to one myth he came down to Ainu-land when Kotan-kara Kamui created it (Kintaichi, *Study of the Ainu*, p. 211), and according to another he is identical with Kotan-kara Kamui (for Kotan-kara see footnote p. 12). In three or four versions of his myth he is said to have been born on earth to the elm-tree spirit, his father being some cosmic phenomenon such as the sun or thunder (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*).—H.W.

II

THE KAMUI

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IN the last chapter we discussed *kamui* in general and made special reference to the remote *kamui*—those believed to dwell in the sky. We now come to the second class of *kamui*—those regarded as accessible and trustworthy. The nominal chief of these terrestrial *kamui* is Shiramba Kamui, Upholder of the World. He is the god of vegetation, and though his *ramat* is believed to be distributed in trees which provide houses, utensils, implements and firewood, particularly oaks, it is also present in grain, herbs, vegetables and grasses, and is especially potent in the aconite (*surugu*). The possession of *ramat* is believed to endow trees and plants with feelings akin to those of men.[1] When I asked an Ainu who wished to plant a small tree in my garden whether it should have manure, he exclaimed: 'No, no, it would be too astonished.' Shiramba Kamui is especially revered as giver of the timber of

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[1] Mr Watanabe differs from Munro in certain interpretations of Ainu beliefs (see footnote re *hara*, Chapter II, p. 12). He states that the Ainu recognize the existence of a spirit in every plant, and that Shiramba Kamui is the Chief of the plants. He quotes: 'For the Ainu, trees and grass do not mean plants, at least in our sense of the word. According to the Ainu idea, beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *Kamui*-spirits, as well as trees and grass. In the country of *kamui* they take human forms and live the same mode of life as that of human beings, the Ainu. They have their families as well as villages' (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, pp. 13–14).

He adds: 'Such spirits, when visiting the Ainu country, disguise themselves and take the form of concrete objects such as trees and grass. In other words, every individual plant is nothing but an incarnation of a spirit which is invisible and believed to take a human form in its home country. In consequence, a plant itself is sometimes called by a name with such a suffix as *-kamui*, or *-fuchi*.'—B.Z.S.

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. 776
His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul 774
nusa (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window. 824 [778]

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu
pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all 776
departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the 775
hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares
with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro [774]
Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui*
is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer [782]
or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She
Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its
ramat is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly [842]
Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual
intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld
under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is 776
commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate
it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's 775
presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it 354
is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest.
She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for
her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within [783]
the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, [844]
and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge
there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to 776
make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII). [292]

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she
descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna
Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery
serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom
Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

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[1] *Ekashi, Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two
words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated [192]
as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a
deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to [769]
imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old-woman or grandmother.
As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women,
Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes [114]
Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-
koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the
[372] Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the
fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and
[774] Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close
association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit
of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui*
778 have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them.
That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all. The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 The name Nusa-koro Kamui[1] is really an epithet, as are nearly
[552] all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names,
which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*, are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village raising) Kamui.

[769] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but
[795] investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and
of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the
[778] place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are
never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is
[782] nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings
to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

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[114] [1] According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit 776
chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection 825
with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests, have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others
is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is some- [782]
times addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him [789]
he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward off a typhoid epidemic.[1] As we shall see later, his image in snake form is used in various rites of exorcism.

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be 776
besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro 782
Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi.

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes 776
are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be 825
rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, [774]
and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious [787]
possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui himself is solicited to oust the intruder.

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut [782]
Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*) *nusa* be- [778]
cause the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed, and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief
in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not [842]
found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the hills lest they became pregnant by a snake.

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in 776 778 782

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[1] In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor
who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only [552]
in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S.

776 the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given
782 in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred
778 to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba
Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the
chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the
hash [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity
776 based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-
[773] range Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-
piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some
[372] protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a
relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the
prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects
[842] the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes
solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions
[787] with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along
[782] which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is
[778] called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to
the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made
here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river)
Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually
[782] regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the
same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with
[769] ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is
[778] Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which
appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut
[844] Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All
the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

776 There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or
representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions
823 in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control
the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of
the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows
deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-
rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest
depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-
koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth).
Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual,
776 and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

[782] We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called

subsidiary *kamui*, and which are invoked after prayer to Kamui Fuchi and (often) Nusa-koro Kamui. 776 [782]

Apa-sam (beside the entrance) Kamui does sentry duty on both sides of the door, keeping out evil spirits. Though not high ranking he is important, and receives offerings at certain ceremonies. This [782] *kamui* is said to be both male and female and may be regarded as either a dual *kamui* or a pair.

Outside the house, on the south and west respectively, are the seats of two *kamui* who are said to be servants of Kamui Fuchi. One is Mintara-koro (possessor of the precincts) Kamui, who guards the approaches to the house. Some Ainu of my acquaintance say that this is also a pair of *kamui*. In most areas this *kamui* still plays a part, though in the north I was told that the guarding is done only by the house dog.

The second is Ru-koro Kamui, the *kamui* of the male privy (the [514] female privy has no *kamui*) who is also regarded by some as a pair of spirits. He is associated with ideas of expulsion and evacuation and is regarded as powerful.[1] This may be because odours keep [789] off evil spirits; rank-smelling herbs are held to be magically effective for this purpose.

It may be noted that although *pase kamui* and those represented in effigy are mostly unisexual, the lower-ranking spirits, including evil spirits, are usually epicene, or dual spirits of opposite sex.

The fourth class of *kamui* are the theriomorphic *kamui*. All 776 animals have *ramat* but not all are *kamui*. Some of the animal 825 *kamui* are good and others bad, and there are Ainu who profess to be able to distinguish those of the same species by some difference of colour or marking. Thus, a black fox (Shitumbe Kamui) is nearly always good but has a special earmark if entirely reliable. Similarly, a red fox is usually unreliable, but certain features are reassuring. Animal *kamui* whether good or bad can take human or other forms; this is called *ish-iri katande* (putting on body shape). In the tales known as *uebekere* bears, wolves, foxes and other animals change shape and perform wonderful feats.

There are evil bears (*wen-yuk*), man-eaters, and others of wrathful disposition who attack men savagely in the wilds. They are evil

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[1] Ru-koro Kamui is invoked to exercise his powers of expulsion. The idea of the magical quality of faeces themselves, as of hair, nails and body dirt, if present at all, is not accentuated.—B.Z.S.

776 spirits in the guise of bears and are recognizable as such by their
825 footprints. But the chief spirit of the bears and the chief spirit of snakes are benevolent deities; animals are sometimes believed to be incarnations of these *pase kamui*. It is said that the wolf and fox were killed ritually in the old days, so they also may have been regarded as *kamui*.

Because birds fly above the earth and sometimes disappear mysteriously for a season they are credited with various powers, and some are held in high veneration. The eagle owl is worshipped to a greater or lesser extent in all the places I visited. At Mokoto in the north it had a distinguished position on festival occasions between the *inau* of Moshiri-kara Kamui, Maker of the World, and Wakka-ush Kamui, Spirit of the Waters. It is known from north to south as Kotan-koro Kamui, Possessor of the Village, though other names are also given to it.

Three other bird-gods are worshipped at Mokoto: the great black woodpecker who chips out and protects boats, the spotted kingfisher (Satchini Kamui) who protects fish, and the crow, known as Pashkuru Kamui. The depredations of the crow are tolerated; one reason given is that it is said to have saved the sun from being swallowed by a ferocious evil spirit by pecking the monster's tongue till it disgorged its prey. Another reason is that on one occasion when some Ainu were starving, crows guided them to a stranded whale. Formerly, the crow and some other
[796] important birds were killed ritually, as a young bear still is. I am
[182] told that the practice of killing birds ritually has not altogether died out, but I have not been able to see an example of it.

Like human beings, some birds are better disposed than others and some are essentially good. The best, Kesorap Kamui, of glorious plumage and pitying heart is mythical, and so is the worst, Huri or Furi, said to have been a huge bird which lived in a cave
[187] and devoured human beings. There are birds of good and evil omen, and birds which make it their duty to give timely warning of impending trouble. The warning is usually heard in the darkness, as is that of the black fox. If the source is unrecognized it is considered most uncanny and said to be that of Kunne-rek Guru (Voice-in-the-dark Person).

Other theriomorphic *kamui* which should be mentioned include the spider, Yooshkep Kamui, said also to be called Kamui Tunchihi and to be a divine assistant of Nusu-koro Kamui. By loose

By loose

analogy the long claw and net coming forth from the body form a 776
combination capable of instilling confidence in women during 825
difficult labour. And the spirit of a fresh-water crab, called Ametanne 844
Mat, whose 'metal' (hard) claws are believed able to extract
the baby, is frequently invoked in childbirth after prayer to Nusakoro
Kamui. Finally we may mention Hai-o-Pira Kamui, who
receives *inau* and libations from many Ainu in this district. It is 776
the 'sword' of the swordfish (*pirikap*), a formidable monster up 825
to twelve feet long, the harpooning of which is one of the most
exciting episodes in the marine life of the Ainu.

The fifth class, spirit helpers and personal *kamui*, includes the 776
skulls of certain *kamui* in animal form. These may be mammals, 778
birds or turtles. The skulls are smoked, cleaned and partly wrapped 825
in curled shavings (*inau kike*), which are also stuffed into the cranial
cavity, eye sockets and mouth. The shavings must be cut from a
fresh branch of willow, the tree of life, and Kamui Fuchi must be
invoked to give efficacy to the *ramat* of the shavings. These objects
are called *shiratki kamui*[1] and act as spirit protectors (*epungine
kamui*). They may be hung in the house on the north wall or stored
in boxes, and may be carried on a journey to give protection to the
traveller. It is most important that they should not be contaminated
by evil spirits. Should the householder or some elder have an [787]
ominous dream which throws suspicion on a *shiratki kamui* it must
be dismantled and discarded. The same precaution is taken with
other artificial objects, *inau* or effigies made to retain *ramat*. The
bad omen is taken as a warning from Kamui Fuchi.

For *shiratki kamui* the skull of a good fox is favoured. This is
useful for augury as well as protection. The lower jaw is carefully [782]
detached, Kamui Fuchi is invoked, and the skull is then placed on
the head of an elder. Should it fall teeth uppermost when the head
is inclined it means 'yes', otherwise 'no'. Many variants of this
simple expedient are employed by Ainu. The libation and prayer [413]
stick, commonly spoken of by Europeans as a moustache-lifter, is [774]
full of *ramat* and is employed in the same manner.

In this district people are too much in awe of the eagle owl to use it as *shiratki kamui*, but two sea-birds, one large and the other small, both called *ibe-rusi chikap*, food-desire birds, are used. So

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[1] In the Saru Basin, which was Munro's main field, Shiratki Kamui is said to be the deity of the albatross. The fox is called Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui.—H.W.

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778 is the snipe, which is regarded as a specialist in ear complaints, and
825 the head of a turtle, though this is not easy to obtain.

Shiratki kamui may be seen by anyone, but there is a class of similar objects which would lose their virtue if seen by other than the elder or his grown-up eldest son if the latter be worthy. They are called *chikoshinninup* or *akoshinninup*. Most valued for this purpose were the skulls of the white fox and the ermine, the former now never, and the latter rarely, seen in Hokkaido. The skin is not removed from the head, which is folded over it. The living ermine is spoken of in old legends as the chief animal helper of man, enabling him to get food and children and warning him against enemies and hostile spirits.

778 Other treasured objects were stones admired for their beauty or some other reason. So long as no one else knew of them they could be gloated over in secret, yielding assurance of protection and success.

776 Invisible spirit helpers, operating without embodiment of any kind, go under various names but their functions are similar. *Kashikamui* and *seremak* are believed to bestow health and good luck generally. *Kasanip*, believed to hover round the top and back of the head, functions somewhat similarly to spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a common belief that a man has a female and a woman a male *kasanip*.[1] Some elders think that *kasanip* are not entirely reliable, and the same applies to *osoyunbe*, who may be helpful or harmful.

[775] Several elders have assured me that at death the good *turenbe*
accompanies the soul to the ancestral land, while the bad returns
[774] to its source, but this seems to be a matter of opinion.

Among occasional helpers are the water nymphs (*mintuchi*). They are unreliable and occasionally dangerous, but are sometimes amenable to orders from *pase kamui*, transmitted through elders and backed by suitable rewards. There are also spirits of trees which, as agents of Shiramba Kamui, are besought for the cure of disease.

776 It is said that some elders were able in moments of peril to
summon spirits not quite so innocent, using what is called *upash-*
789 *kuma itak*, talk from traditional lore. This had the force of a spell,
and though it is denied that it was the same as the 'little talk' of

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[1] Cf. the theory of the Anima and Animus, Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, Part II, Chapter II, 1928.—B.Z.S.

'dark magic', it was somewhat near it. The difference, I was told, was that it was done with the approval of good *kamui* and spoken aloud. But such agencies are different from companion spirits or 'familiars', even if entitled to be called spirit helpers on occasion. 776 [789]

The sixth class consists of mischievous and malicious *kamui*. The Ainu have names for many malicious and malignant spirits that haunt the wilds. Threatening spirits lurk in the woods, crags, gullies, marshes and in the pools and eddies of rivers. There are grades of dangerous spirits, from *koshne* which may be malicious or merely mischievous to those which are definitely 'hard' or stubborn (*nitue*) or evil (*wen*). They are also called *ewendep*, evil things, but so are wicked men. *Koshne kamui* are feared because they are unreliable. For instance the water nymphs (*mintuchi*), though included above among the occasional spirit helpers, and said in well-known tales of the past to have saved Ainu from evil spirits, are also regarded as *koshne kamui* because they (or their eponym) were believed to demand a yearly victim by drowning. So also the *koshimbu*, believed to come from either the sea or the mountains, may induce spirit possession. This is said to be always evil when it comes from the mountains, but sometimes favourable when from the sea. These spirits are said in old traditions (*yukara*) to have appeared in visible form as well as in dreams, but they are never seen now.

Even some *kamui* who would seem to deserve Batchelor's labels of Satan, Abaddon, etc., are not always regarded as utterly bad. Thus Pauchi Kamui, who is supposed to hail from the Willow-soul River (Susu-ram Pet) in High Heaven (Rikun Kando) and is held responsible for gastralgia, food poisoning, insanity, and epidemics of frenzied dancing, seems as bad as could be, but is not regarded by all Ainu as absolutely heartless. [753]

The seventh class, the *kamui* of pestilence, are all held to be malignant, but one was so overwhelmingly frightful that no Ainu dared to call it an evil spirit, just as none dared to call their sword-bearing masters cruel. The smallpox, which ravaged the villages, was called Pakoro (punishing) Kamui and even Oripak (awe-inspiring) Kamui. While magico-religious measures are still taken to repel the evil spirits of other epidemics, one hears little of such measures being taken against smallpox. Vaccination and sanitation have now almost extinguished this scourge. 776 753 164

THE KAMUI

776 825 In the eighth class I have included certain things of unutterable horror, and of these the most noteworthy is the harmless caterpillar known as *ashtoma ikombap*. *Ashtoma* means dread, and though I cannot say that all Ainu regard it with fear and repulsion, it is widely regarded as the materialization of Moshiri-Shinnai-sam, 'world-abnormal-alongside', implying intruding aliens in Ainu-land, and arouses uncanny dread and detestation. There is no fear of caterpillars in general, and it seems possible that the Ainu have [186] come to symbolize in this caterpillar their fear and hatred of the Japanese, by whom they were so long oppressed and treated with contempt. The Japanese are still called Shisam and Shamo or Samo, names apparently connected with Shinnai-sam.[1] It is not only the old people who feel this repulsion for the dreaded caterpillar; young and educated Ainu have told me that the sight of it causes an involuntary shiver—a feeling doubtless inculcated in childhood by the behaviour of their elders. In spite of this, I have never come across any Ainu who feared evil possession (*wen turenbe*) by *ashtoma ikombap*.

539 776 824 NOTE.—The following Ainu folk tale, translated by Mr Watanabe from Chiri's *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, p. 201, may be included in this chapter, as it gives some idea of the Ainu attitude to vegetation and the spirit world.—(B.Z.S.)

'You there, the chief of Ruashipet, listen to what I say. We are neither human beings nor evil deities. I remind you, I am the head of *trep* (plant) and here is the head of *pukusa* (wild garlic). In ancient times, when the deity of creation created the world, he prepared nuts, leaves, roots and the like, all over fields and hills on the surface of the world, in order to let the Ainu eat them. Nevertheless, they do not know that most of them are edible. Above all, *pukusa* and *trep* ought to be the core of human food—but no one collects them. Every year they blossom in vain and disappear on the fields and hills of the human world: but (I remind you) their souls, though crying, do go back to the land of *kamui*. I am sad that they return to earth in vain, and ardently wish to tell the Ainu that both *pukusa* and *trep* are edible things, wishing we may be worshipped as deities on that account, so that we may be eaten. I came here from the east to the Ainu country, bringing the chief of *pukusa*, while disguising ourselves as Ainu women. But human beings are so

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[1] See *imu*, Chapter IX, p. 108.

foolish, they regard our foods as dirty and do not even try to eat us. It is 539
for that reason we got angry and came to you. But now we determine 776
that if you do not eat of the food we offer, we will resign ourselves to do 824
no more, but withdraw to the country of deities.'

III

THE INAU

774 RAMAT is to be regarded as power or purposive ability.
824 Whether generalized as active or quiescent power or re-
778 garded as the attribute of an individual spirit, it is always
credited with some degree of conation. This may be equal to that
of man but is less in animals and plants. Even moulds and lichens
possess a small quantity of *ramat*. Wood is specially credited with
[776] *ramat* from the great soul or spirit of Shiramba Kamui. To the
Ainu nothing is more effective for protection against evil and the
promotion of welfare than living wood. Hence the importance of
[782] the *inau* with their beautiful curls shaven from living wood. When
they take shape at the touch of a knife in an expert hand they seem
instinct with life.

774 *Ramat* is embodied in the various types of *inau* appropriate to
782 each of the high *kamui*, who are invoked and given service at all
778 ritual celebrations. These have mostly come under my direct
observation and study, and those I describe may, I think, be
accepted as representative. Should it be thought that I give too
many details, I must plead that I have tried to record material
which if not now recorded will be lost, as it is rapidly vanishing.

778 *Inau* have been described as whittled sticks, but they are very
782 much more. They are mostly solid stems of wood which, according
to thickness, resemble batons or wands. Early in this century I
[532] came across positive evidence that many *inau* are stylized effigies
of human beings and that they originated as receptacles for ances-
tral *ramat*. Whether they were ever substitutes for human sacrifice
is an open question, but I am disposed to think that some are, at

any rate, substitutes for the clay figures which occur in sites of the 782 neolithic Ainu. 778

Many *inau* embody ancestral *ramat*, and all are credited with [769] superhuman power of some kind, whether derived from the ancestors or from the spiritual potency of impressive natural phenomena. Even in the latter case, whether from a wish to flatter or from assimilation to the predominant ancestor worship, prayers to nature spirits such as Shiramba Kamui or Wakka-ush Kamui often include the term Kamui Ekashi (Spirit Ancestor).

The supernatural power vaguely but confidently attributed to *inau* is extended to the detached curled shavings (*inau kike*) which, if not actually representing hair or garments, are often thought of as such, and are largely used for protective purposes.

Inau are also regarded as messengers (*shongo-koro guru*) or intermediaries between the Ainu and the *kamui* or, perhaps more accurately, between the *kamui* themselves. Kamui Fuchi, whose theophany is living fire on the hearth, may be supplicated with or without offerings of *inau*, but she is usually looked upon in this and other southern districts of Hokkaido as the mediator between gods and men. Many elders maintain that the *inau*, libations and food assigned to other *kamui* come to them through Kamui Fuchi.[1]

Inau are by far the most acceptable offerings to good *kamui*. Formerly alcoholic drink was offered only on special occasions, including communal festivals, but *inau* were, and still are, offered at any time when soliciting or thanking spirit powers.[2] An old revered instruction (*upashkoma*) says that *inau* beautify the land and gratify the gods. Some of them are really beautiful when made by experts. The use of the left hand in making them is forbidden, as displeasing to the *kamui*. *Inau* are never made or offered during [764] funeral rites.

Inau were formerly amassed out of doors at the locations set apart for different *kamui*. In particular, the winged (*shutu*) *inau*,

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[1] These ideas are also found in the Topakchi region in the north-east. It was believed that the rituals and prayers were not understood by the deities for whom they were performed until they had been explained by Kamui Fuchi. They then accepted the offerings of *inau*.—H.W. [184]

[2] *Inau* were divided into two categories: *kamui-nomi inau* which were offered [776] to the deities, and *Shimurapa inau* which were offered to the ancestors on the [769] occasion of the ancestral cults. At every *kamui-nomi* (ritual for deities) *inau* were the most important and essential offerings, and they were never offered without due performance of the ritual.—H.W.

782 which represent the ancestors, used to accumulate till they formed
778 banks several feet thick. In this region one does not see such quan-
[184] tities, but in the north, at Pihoro in the province of Kitami, and
elsewhere, I saw them crowded together in great masses, evidently the accumulation of years. Certain varieties of winged *inau* are anthropomorphic and rank as minor or subsidiary *kamui* in virtue of their concentrated *ramat*. Most of these embody spirits which specialize in counteracting injurious magic. A few exercise somewhat wider functions, and one, Chisei-koro Kamui (house possessing Kamui) is a permanent inmate of the house and is revered as second only to Kamui Fuchi.

824 About fifteen kinds of tree are used in making winged *inau* for
778 good *kamui* and three or four for the *inau* of evil spirits. First and
782 foremost comes the willow, used only for good *kamui*. For special
purposes, or because a willow is not at hand, trees of good repute,
such as lilac, dogwood, oak or magnolia, are sometimes used.[1]
[826] According to tradition, the human backbone, which is regarded as
the seat of life, was originally made of a willow branch. This may be because it is supple, or because its shavings form the most sprightly curls. Elders are so convinced that the willow is the tree of life that winged *inau* made from it are regarded as backbones for *ramat*.

The *shutu inau* have flaps cut on the stems, known as wings (*rap*),

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[1] *Shutu inau* may be made from the following trees:

(*a*) Willow (*susu*) always when at hand, unless a special property, e.g. durability, be a desideratum.

(*b*) Lilac (*pungaum*) is used for some large *shutu inau*, and hand-made *kamui* bodies of the same design, where lasting protection is called for.

(*c*) Dogwood (*utuka-ni*) is a good wood, also two kinds of magnolia.

(*d*) *Push-ni*.

(*e*) *Ophe-ni*.

(*f*) *Phellodendron amurense* (*shikerebe-ni*), is valued for a particular purpose.

(*g*) Two kinds of oak (*tun-ni*), a true oak, and *pero*, which has a leaf like a 'chestnut oak'. Both of these are still besought for easy childbirth or other protection.

(*h*) An ash tree (*pinni*), though not much used for *inau*. For *wen inau* of *shutu* form, and for special defensive *kamui*, trees of ancient magic repute or having magic odour, such as *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*), and bird-cherry (*kiki-ni*).

The thorn-bearing *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* (*aiush-ni*) and elder are used for *shutu kamui* bodies and also for switches (*takusa*) (see *epiru*, Chapter IX). Poplar (*yaini*) is said to be offered as a bribe to Pauchi Kamui.—N.B.M.

In the original text *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* was given as *Kalapanax ricinifolium*, but as this could not be identified in botanical works it has been presumed to be the former plant.—B.Z.S.

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177
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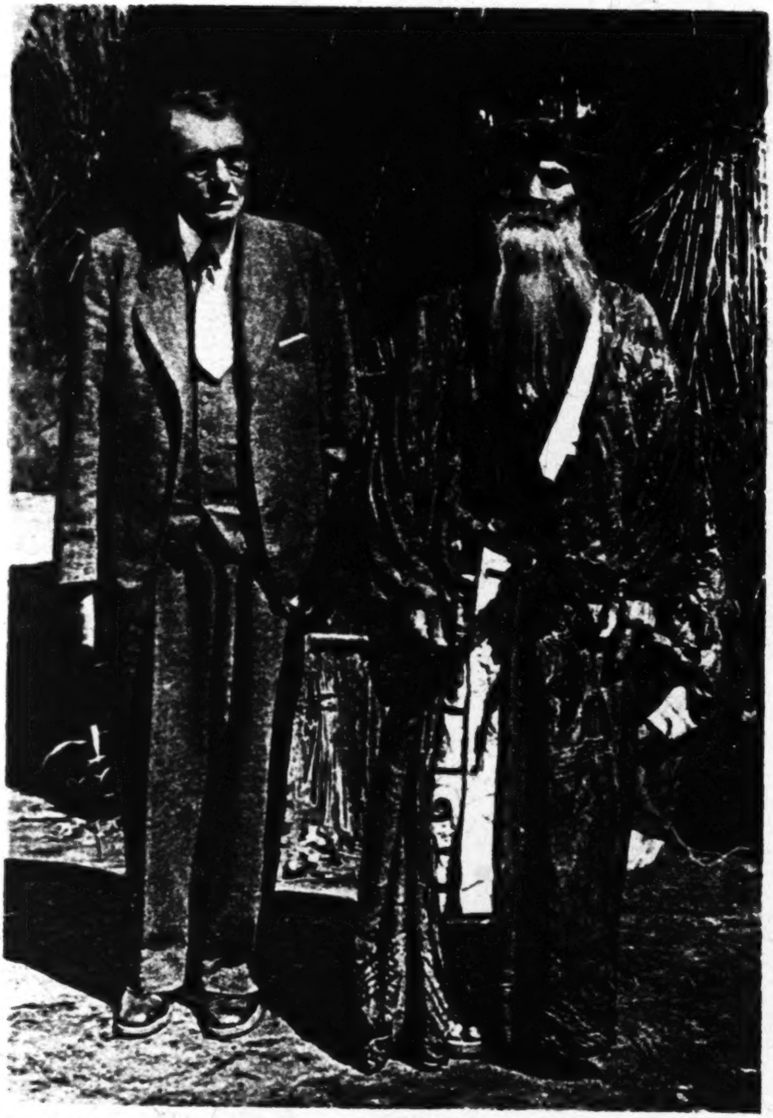

PLATE I. The author with an elder wearing Japanese ceremonial robe given for services rendered early in this century.

[p. 30, (A)]

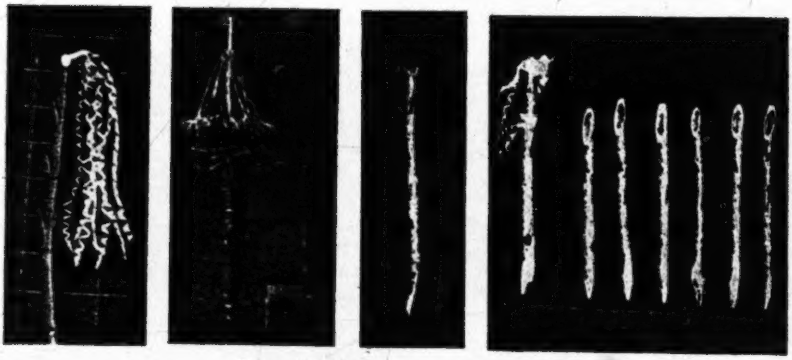

Fig. 1. *Shutu inau.*
Fig. 2. *Shirikura inau.*
Fig. 3. *Inumba inau*, the beer-straining *inau.*
Fig. 4. Group of *uen inau* with their leader.

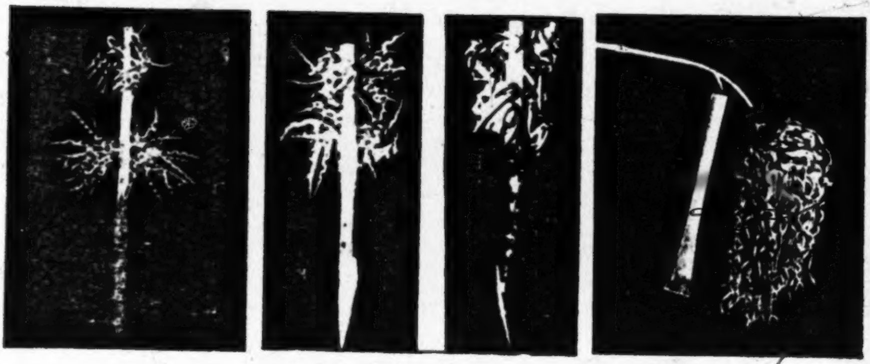

Fig. 5. Ordinary backward shaven *inau* (*chehoro-kakep*).
Figs. 6 and 7. Backward shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui.
Fig. 8. *Inau* from Japan.

PLATE II. *INAU.*

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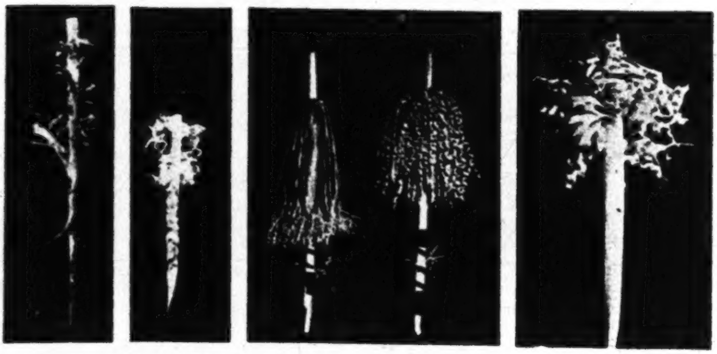

Fig. 1. *Shien shutu inau.*
Fig. 2. *Shutu inau* for Kinashut Kamui, made of walnut.
Fig. 3. Twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*).
Fig. 4. Outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*).
Fig. 5. *Inau* for Abe ochi Ekashi.

[844]

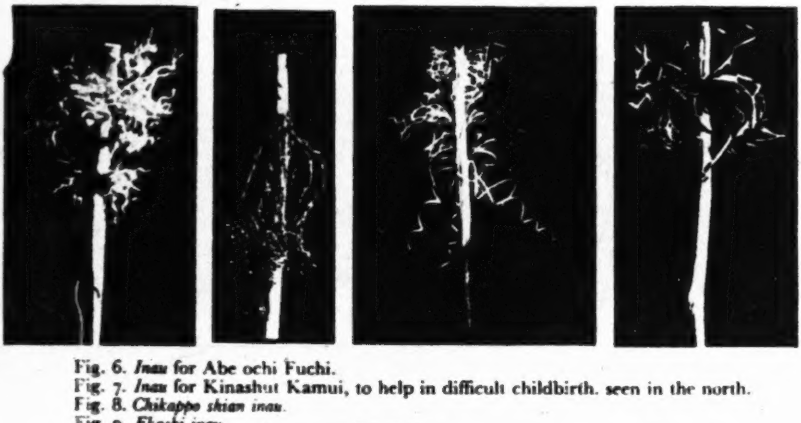

Fig. 6. *Inau* for Abe ochi Fuchi.
Fig. 7. *Inau* for Kinashut Kamui, to help in difficult childbirth. seen in the north.
Fig. 8. *Chikappo shian inau.*
Fig. 9. *Ekashi inau.*

PLATE III. *INAU.*

[p. 30, (C)]

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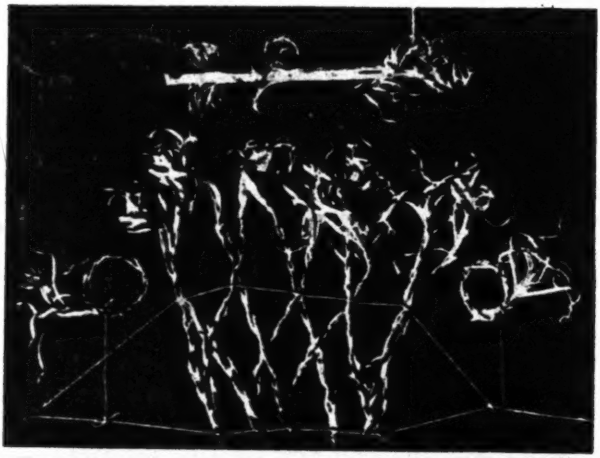

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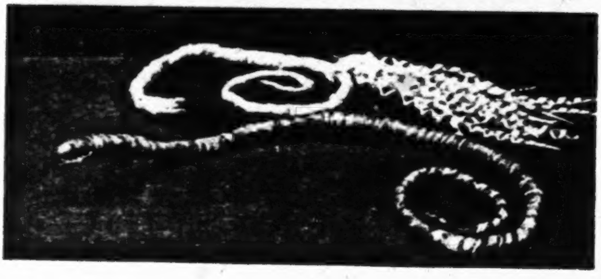

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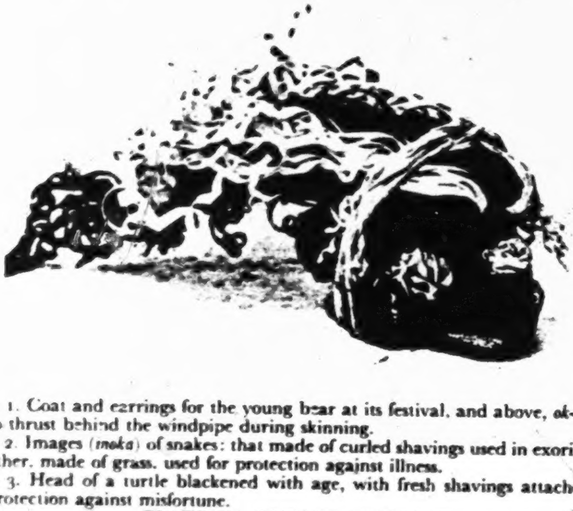

Fig. 1. Coat and earrings for the young bear at its festival, and above, *ok-meme-in* to thrust behind the windpipe during skinning.

Fig. 2. Images (*inoka*) of snakes: that made of curled shavings used in exorism; the other, made of grass, used for protection against illness.

Fig. 3. Head of a turtle blackened with age, with fresh shavings attached as a protection against misfortune.

PLATE IV. CURLED SHAVINGS.

[p. 30, (i)]

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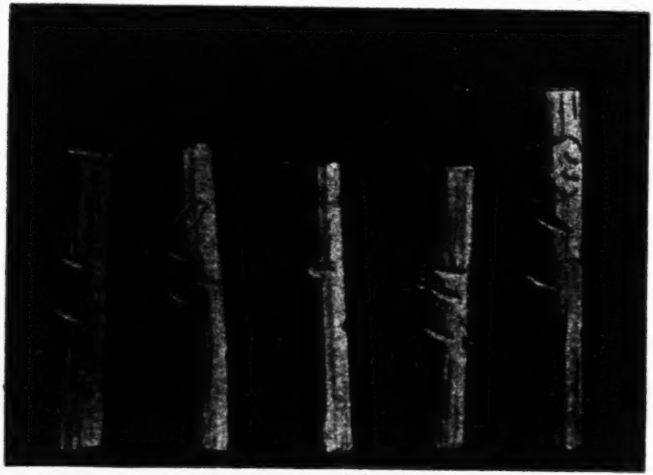

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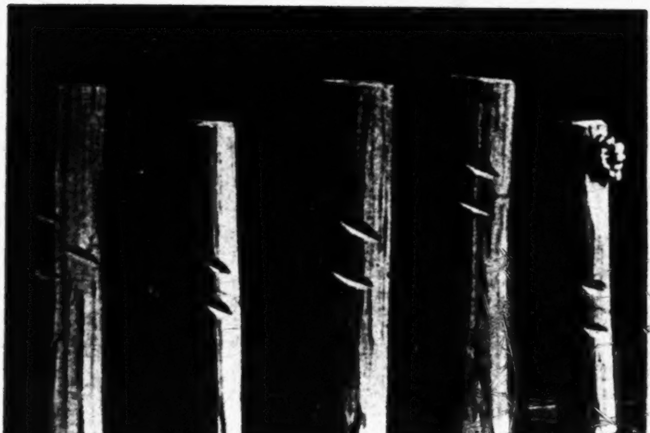
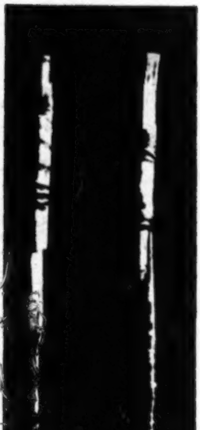


6. 7. 8. 9. 10.



11.

Fig. 5. Chup Kamui (sun deity). Fig. 4. Kanna Kamui (thunder deity). Fig. 3. Shirikoro Kamui. Fig. 2. Chep-atte Kamui (plenteous fish). Fig. 1. Yuk-atte Kamui (plenteous deer). Fig. 10. Ainu Sachiri Kamui (the spotted kingfisher). Fig. 9. Wakka-ush Kamui (water deity). Fig. 8. A-e-oina Kamui. Fig. 7. Abera-ra-Shut Kamui (ancestral *kamui* beneath the hearth). Fig. 6. Moshiri-kara Kamui. Fig. 11. Methods of tying the shavings on *inau* according to ancestral cult.

PLATE V *ITOKPA.*

[p. 30, (E)]

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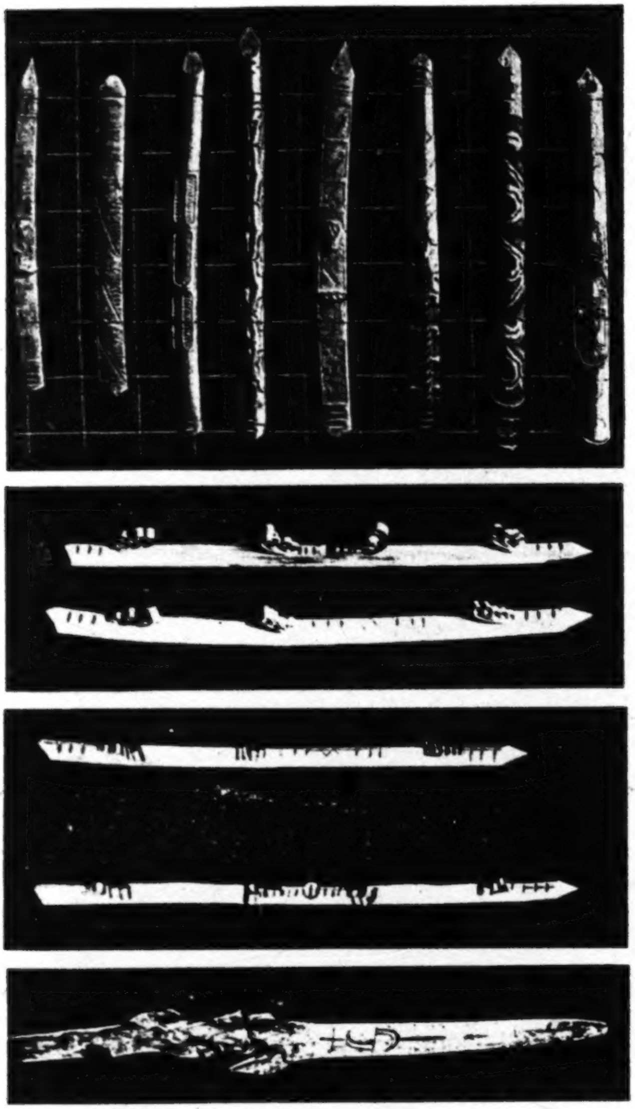
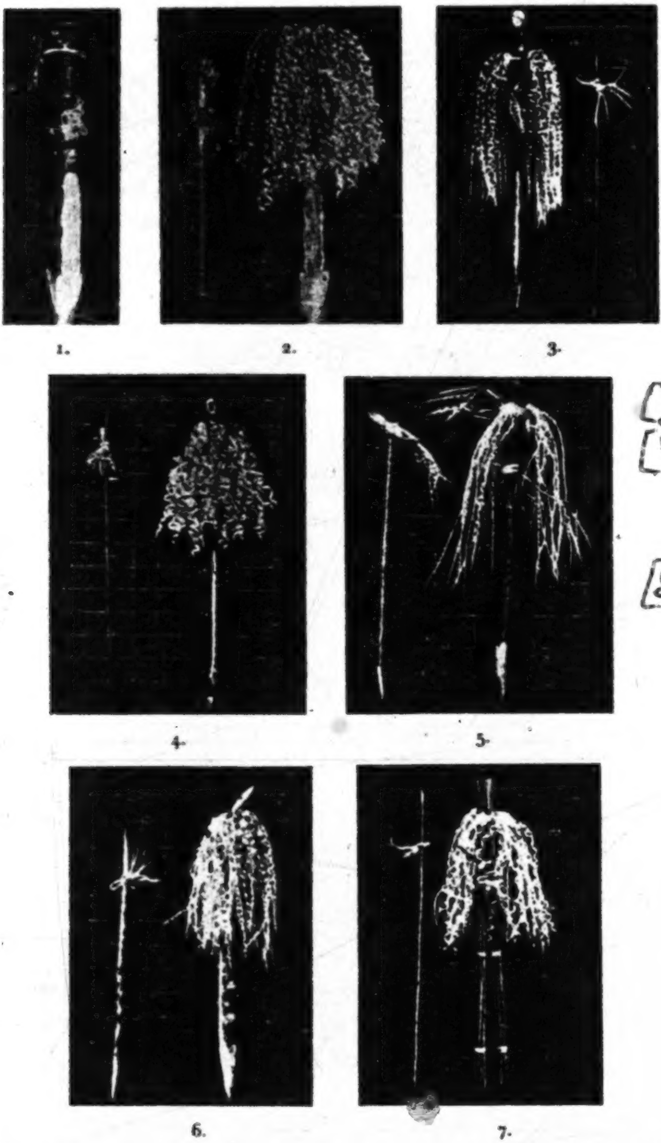


Fig. 1. Decorated *iku-bashui* in ordinary use.
Fig. 2. *Kike-ush-bashui*, used in *kamui iomande* ceremonies.
Fig. 3. Ditto, but turned to show ancestral marking (*ekashi itokpa*).
Fig. 4. *Iku-bashui* for Rep-un Kamui, showing his *itokpa*.

PLATE VI. PRAYER STICKS
OR LIBATION WANDS (IKU-BASHUI).

[p. 30,(F)]


1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.

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[825]
[796]

[844]

Fig. 1. The body of Chisei-koro Kamui. The heart is tied on with shavings: the flattened side of the body represents the abdomen. Fig. 2. Chisei-koro Kamui, fully dressed, with his spear. Fig. 3. Shutu *inau* Kamui for three brothers who protect vigour and welfare. Fig. 4. Chikube-ni Kamui with spear, protector of the young bear until the time of its ritual dismissal. Fig. 5. Soko-ni Fuchi with spear, for help in difficult childbirth. Fig. 6. Ai-ush-ni Kamui. Fig. 7. Imosh Kamui, made by Uesanash Ekashi.

PLATE VII. EFFIGIES.

[p. 30,(G)]

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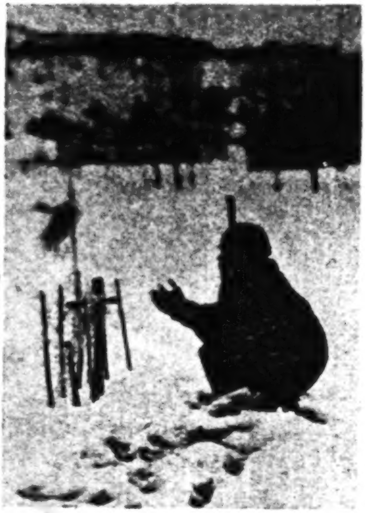
[142]



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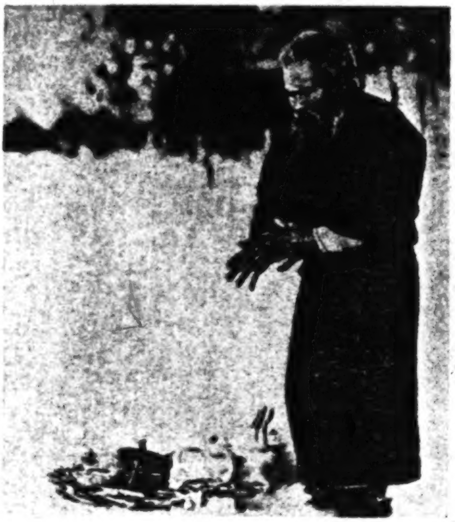

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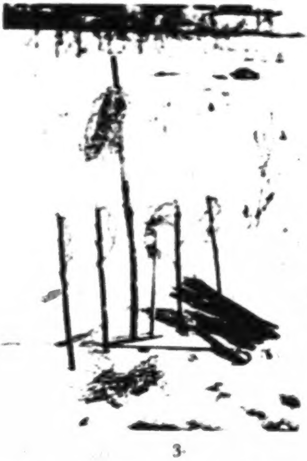

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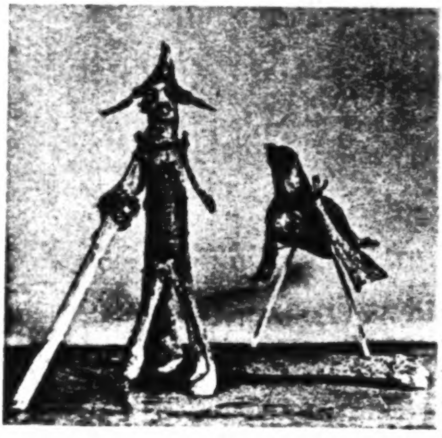

4.

Fig. 1. Uesanash giving ritual dismissal to Imosh Kamui.
Fig. 2. Rennuikesh Ekashi giving ritual dismissal to Penup Kamui.
Fig. 3. Imosh Kamui dismantled at the *nusa* erected for him with the *inau* appropriate to the highest *kamui*.
Fig. 4. Penup Kamui.

PLATE VIII. DANGEROUS KAMUI.

[p. 30, (H)]

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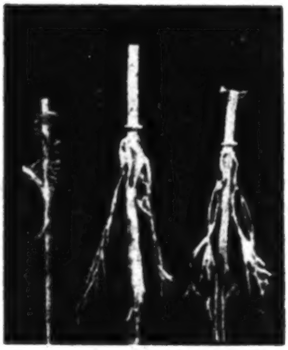

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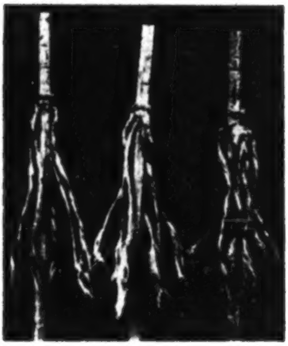
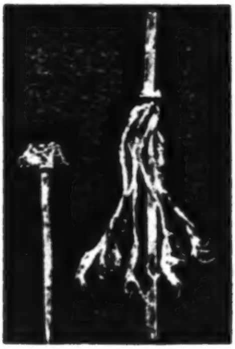


4. 5. 6.

[844]



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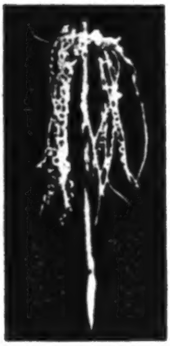

9.

Fig. 1. Iresu Fuchi (Usawara Fuchi). Fig. 2. Kanna Kamui, the sky deity. Fig. 3. Kotan-koro Kamui, eagle-owl. Fig. 4. Chiwash-koro Kamui. Fig. 5. Chup Kamui, the sun deity. Fig. 6. Rep-un Kamui, grampus. Fig. 7. Abe ochi Ekashi *Inau*: the male fire god in the north. Fig. 8. Iworo-koro Ekashi, the ancestor possessing the mountains. Used in the north. Fig. 9. *Inau* given to Kinashut Kamui to aid difficult childbirth.

All show *itokpa* markings and are made in the north.

PLATE IX. *ITOKPA* ON STEMS OF *INAU* OFFERED TO THE ABOVE *KAMUI*.

[p. 30, (I)]

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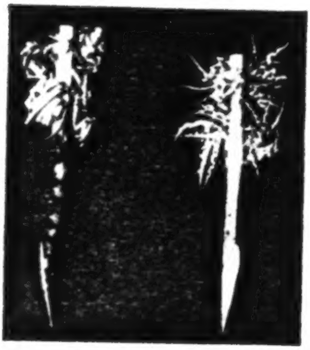

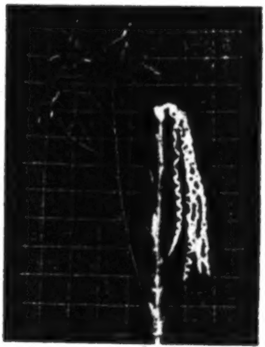

Fig. 1. *Inau* of walnut given to Kinashut Kamui as a reward for help given.
Fig. 2. *Inau* of elder given to Kinashut Kamui for expelling evil spirits.
Fig. 3. *Inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui offered by hunters in the south and by fishermen in the north.

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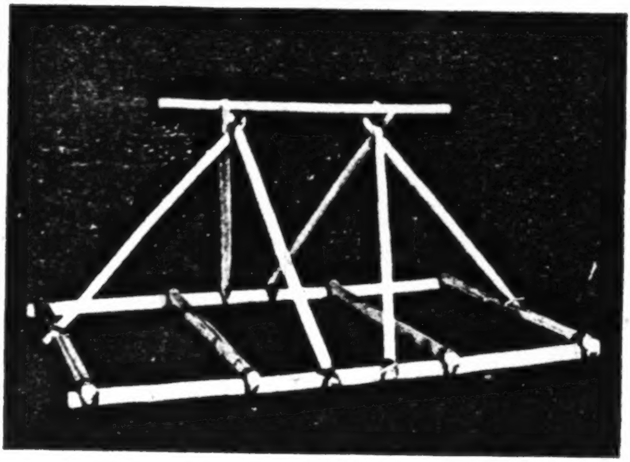

Fig. 4. Model of Ketun-ni.

PLATE X. *INAU* AND MODEL OF ROOF STRUCTURE.

[p. 30 (J)]

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415
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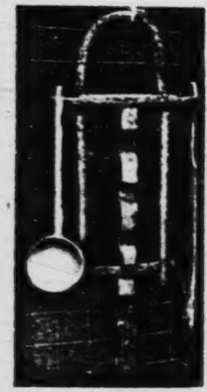

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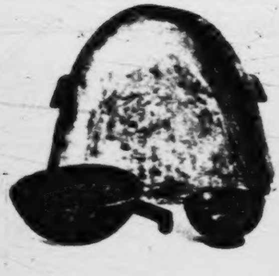

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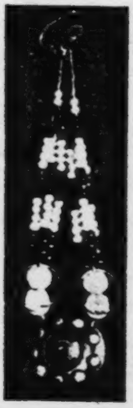

3.

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[782]
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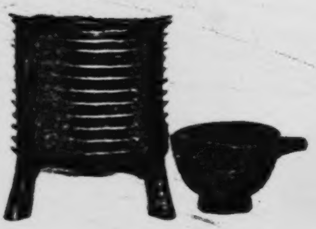

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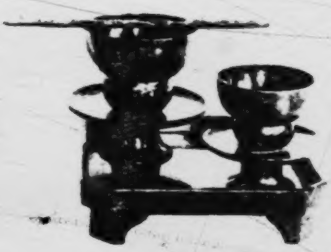

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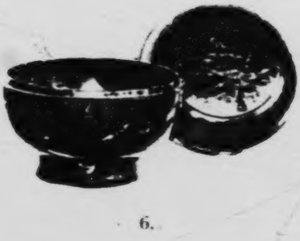

6.

Fig. 1. Pot hook. Fig. 2. Household utensils. Fig. 3. Woman's necklace with pendant and earrings. Fig. 4. A *shintoko* and an old wooden vessel. Fig. 5. Tray with wine cups and a libation wand. Fig. 6. *Patchi*, bowl with lid.

PLATE XI. DOMESTIC OBJECTS.

[p. 30, (k)]

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415
353

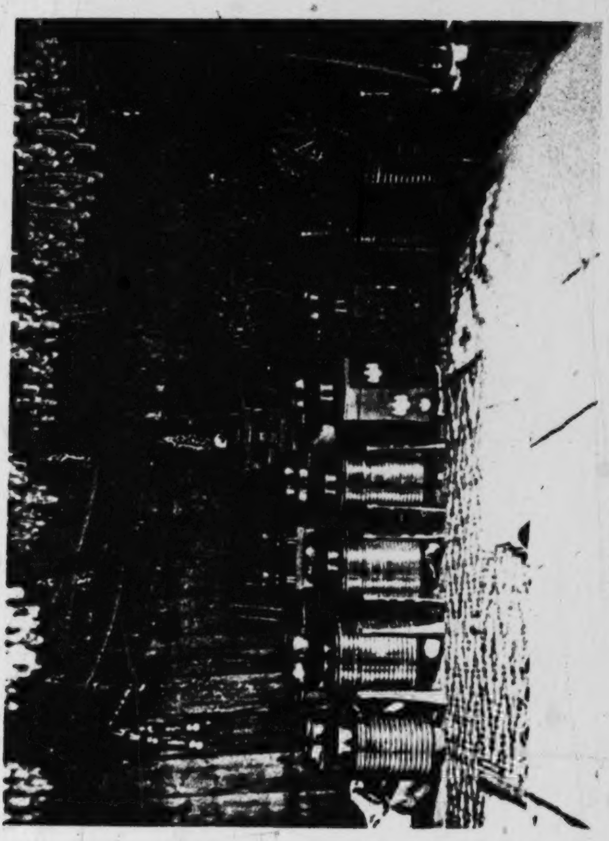

PLATE XII. Household treasures.

[p. 30 (L)]

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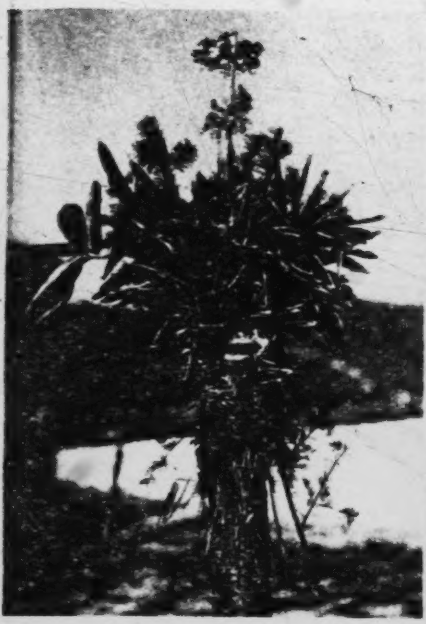

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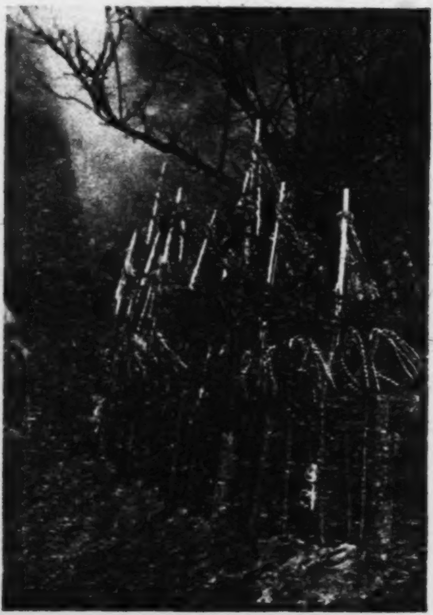

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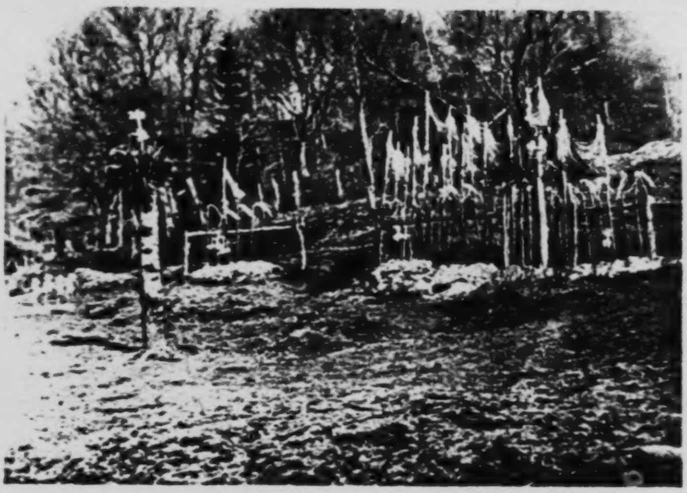

3.

Fig. 1. Chupusu *inau* fixed to the top of the post (*tusak ni*). In the bear ceremony, when the flesh is cut up, it is dipped in the blood of the bear and again attached to the post. Fig. 2. The head of the bear in the centre of the *nusa* of many *inau* set up for the bear ceremony. Fig. 3. The Chupusu and *inau* fencing set up for the bear ceremony.

PLATE XIII. *INAU* ARRANGED FOR BEAR CEREMONY.

[p. 30,(M)]

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[p. 30, (W)]

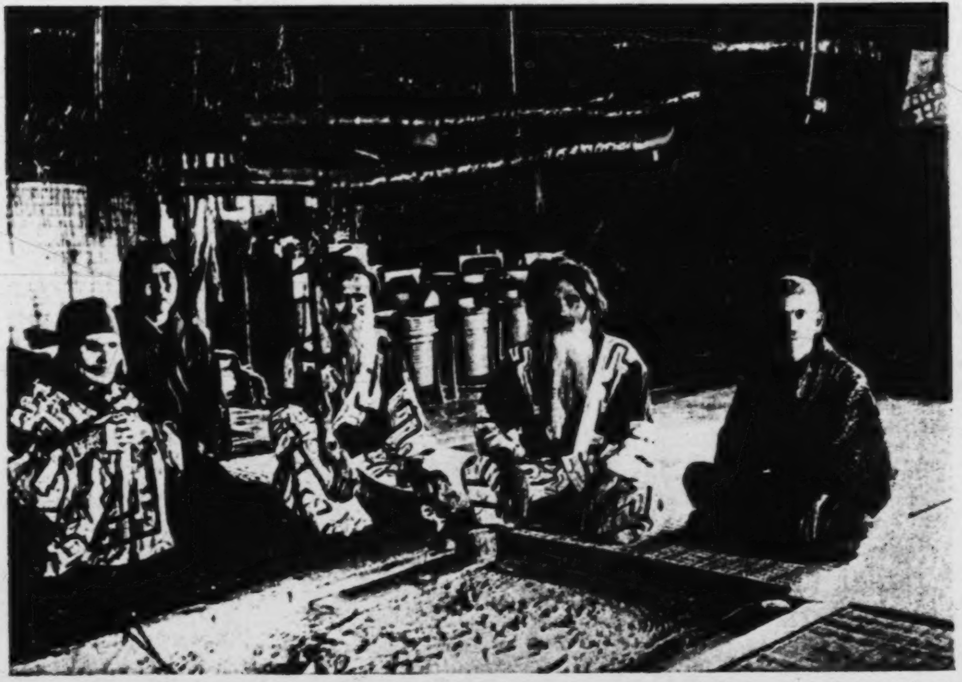
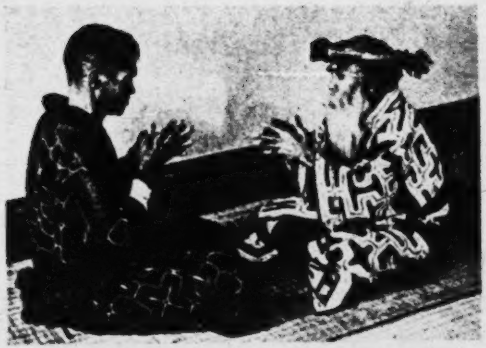


PLATE XIV. Inside the house, the householder sitting at the north-east corner of the hearth with the pothook hanging beside him.



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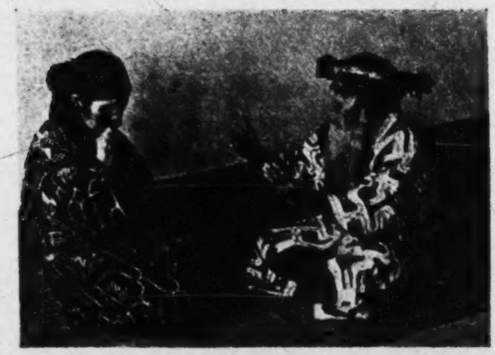

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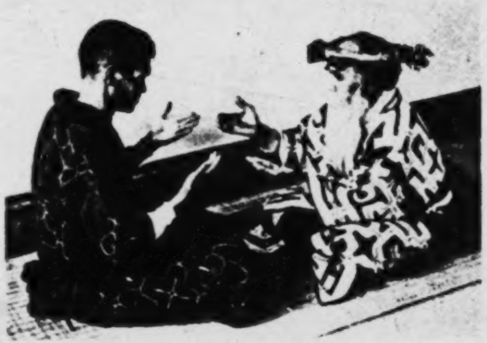

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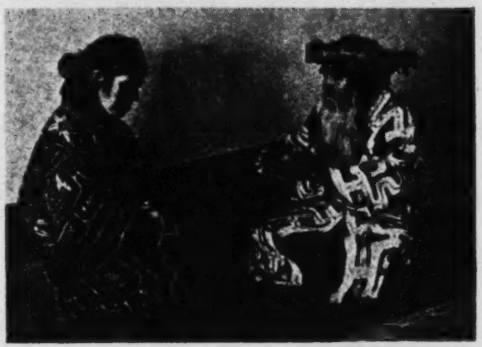

4.

Figs. 1 and 2. Man making ritual salutation (*ongami*). Figs. 3 and 4. Woman performs ritual salutation (*raimik*).

Note *ekashi* wears ceremonial headband and tunic.

PLATE XV. RITUAL SALUTATION.

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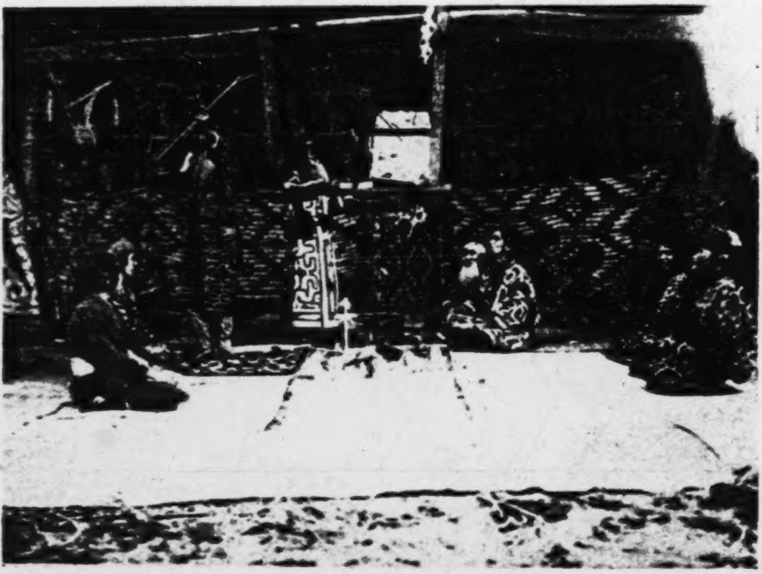

Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

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Fig. 2. The author in the *u-eshopki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They 824
are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an 778
epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to 782
represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For [532]
good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates [184]
the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south
good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*ruwe*). 778
The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, 782
Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, 776
together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of
the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the [825]
Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui, [796]
the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival,

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[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*tek-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders. [114]

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S. [776]

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

778
THE INAU

782 which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui
776 Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are,
[825 in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same
[796] offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

778 An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*,
782 is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead
[824] of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel
778 evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue*
789 (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is
[532] regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of
[791 curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*)
[801] has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

778 The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are
789 credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-
824 bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

778 In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made
789 from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade
171 of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

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given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the 778 ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges [789] of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us [171] too far afield.

The *chehorokakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light [824] green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin.

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa- 778 koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to 782 Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or *alter ego*, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During [783] ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui [844] Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight.

Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are [796] inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are not offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with

778 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (im-
782 portant) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*)
(Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike parase*) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings. Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau netoba*, meaning the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma* [illegible]*u*, *shiroma* meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (putting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip* (clothing).

184 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami prov-
776 ince, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau*
778 are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there
354 are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*.
Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III, figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective *inau*. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the south.

The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window
[342] which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups
of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays
[562] second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu
Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in child-
[782] birth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my
[789] friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more
powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the
182

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration 184
was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all 182
knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that
they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well 778
as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied 776
to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of 184
the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower 354
end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even
given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it [562]
should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The
ekashi inau[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till [858]
they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a
risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height
is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are
given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are 778
plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for fur- 782
ther examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with 184
seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibu- [114]
tani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up
for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi
Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*,
his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*)
(Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt
as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the
ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting.
The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the
backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch
of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat
top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui.
Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to [755]
heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the ab-
sence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, [243]
where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead
there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut

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[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

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778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*,
and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral
associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are
said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the
backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the
bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven
inau, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out
spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the
eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most,
which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1]
[776] He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales
and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called
shian (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
787 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate
184 the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of
divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
[782] answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly
stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be
heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and
then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the
answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled
789 shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
[114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one
south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits
might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei
noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is
doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

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[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook 778
(*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value. 789

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a
festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden [796]
pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*)
the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might [796]
attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a [301]
coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations in-
volving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the [396]
same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are
regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing
the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult [301]
labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms [755]
the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. [845]
It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under [844]
the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering
an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged
parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to
retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during [513]
sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled [774]
shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of
grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled [411]
shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put
on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first
wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state
it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to [278]
women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide [762]
by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the [776]
spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted [787]
device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation
wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round [825]
the victim's head. [755]

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said 778
about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, 532
there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani 212
neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised
on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual [796]
dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male [776]

ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*)[1] is then incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and two on the two twisted shaven *inau* described above as affixed to the *shirikura inau* (Pl. II, fig. 2). Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.

In Kitami province, however, many *inau* bear signs cut on the stems indicating the kinds of *kamui* to which they are dedicated.[2] Rennuikesh, a native of the north, says that these are seals of truth for *shian inau*. Rennuikesh made for me examples representing the upper parts of various *inau*, and in them we see what might have been the beginning of writing. In Pl. V, fig. 5, we have Chup Kamui (*chu-pa*, shining thing) which stands for both sun and moon, though the sun is more in mind. Pl. V, fig. 4, represents Kanna Kamui. Another figure which may perhaps represent a tree (Pl. V, fig. 3) is for Shiri-koro Kamui (Shiramba Kamui). Deer horns signify Yuk-atte Kamui (Pl. V, fig. 1), who is besought for the increase of deer, and a fish (Pl. V, fig. 2) signifies Chep-atte Kamui, believed to promote abundance of fish. The little bunch of shavings on the winged *inau*, representing a wing (Pl. V, fig. 10), is the symbol of Ainu Satchiri Kamui, the spotted kingfisher, protector of rivers and their produce. *Itokpa* for Wakka-ush Kamui is shown on Pl. V, fig. 9; for Aoina Kamui on fig. 8; fig. 7 is for Abera-ra-shut, a *kamui* dwelling below the hearth; fig. 6 is the *itokpa* for Moshiri-kara Kamui.

Accompanying these probably decipherable signs are others of more enigmatic character. One nearly always present is a line running obliquely between two short and deep cuts, and slightly curved on the contour of the staff. Rennuikesh called it *chishitu konuye*, which might mean 'winding between mountain crests'. During my short trip in the north I met no elder who claimed to know its significance, yet several claimed it as a special sign of their own village. Other marks on these northern *inau* are, it has been suggested, representations of the footprints of bears, but I do not

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[1] *Ekashi itokpa*, the male ancestral mark, is incised on objects of three kinds: the *kamui-nomi inau*, the *inau* used in the worship of *kamui*; the *kike-ush bashui*, a sacred wand with *kike* (shavings); the *hepere ai*, the arrow used to shoot the bear cub in the bear ceremony (Natori, *The Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo 1945), and, in some districts, on the arrows for bear hunting. In Chitose and Hilaka districts it was only used on the *kike-ush bashui* (Natori, *Journal of Anthropological Society of Japan*, Vol. 55, No. 5).—H.W.

[2] These are called *kamui-itokpa*, and are incised on certain *inau* with *ekashi-itokpa* as well.—H.W.

know enough to hazard an opinion on this subject. I know, how- 778
ever, that in certain village communities (*kotan*) they are, whether 532
alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if 212
not common descent. Uesanash Ekashi, a reliable informant, tells
me that the mode of tying *inau* to their stem (Pl. V, fig. 11) is a
sign specific to certain male lines of descent.

Another class of objects which are believed to carry *ramat* calls 778
for notice. I cannot say who first named them moustache-lifters, 413
but it was one of those guesses, based on imperfect acquaintance,
frequently repeated in popular writings. These are flattened wands 782
about a foot long, usually decorated on one side and pointed at [531]
one end (Pl. VI, fig. 1). When laid horizontally over the drinking-
cup (*tuki*), their proper resting position, and when the cup is held
in the left hand and the wand in the right, it is sometimes used to
keep the moustache out of the liquor. But that is far from being
its real function.

In recent times they have become generally known as drinking- 778
sticks (*ikubashui*), but they are really prayer-sticks, as I discovered 782
many years ago. Sometimes they are used as libation-wands, as
will be described later. When examining a collection of about forty
specimens I noticed that nearly all had a mark like an arrowhead
on the under surface of the pointed end. This indicated direction,
and it is known to most elders as the tongue (*parumbe*). In the
Ishikari region it is on the upper surface. When it is absent the
pointed end of the stick perhaps represents the tongue. Certain [532]
lines and patterns at one or both ends may be degenerate eye
motifs. A recent specimen, with its partly modern style of decora-
tion, seems to show a revival of the eye motif on the misunder-
standing that each line represented an eye.

At the Bear Festival the winged prayer-stick of willow (*kike-ush
bashui*, Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3) is tied to the given *inau* of Hash-inau-
uk Kamui and remains there. Another is given to the head of the [796]
bear when it is erected with many *inau*, but this one is taken back
to the house.

All elders consider the prayer-stick as a sacred object, a messenger of prayer to, and especially from, Kamui Fuchi, and firmly believe that it carries *ramat* in an exceptional degree, while some regard it as ranking with the auxiliary *kamui*. At the same time it is a libation-wand, and with it drops of the sacred brew were formerly transmitted to the *kamui* and the *inau* dedicated to them.

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778 782 It has played a part, if a small one, in the alcoholism of the present-day Ainu, elders now affecting to believe that they can win the approval of the *Kamui* by offering a few drops of raw *shochu*. The function of the sticks as libation-wands was secondary to that of [201] pointing, as a speaker may do with the forefinger, and of transmitting messages from Kamui Fuchi. In prayer an elder may say that his language is faulty, but that the prayer-stick will convey his meaning correctly.

778 212 532 There are two kinds of mark on the prayer-sticks. Those on the underside are found on most household specimens and are the owner's marks (*shirosh*); those on the upper side are patrilineal ancestral signs (*ekashi itokpa*) and are regarded with respect and awe (*oripak*). Though not as sacred as the women's secret girdles, the attitude of men towards them is somewhat similar to that of women to their girdles. I was told by Nisukrek-guru that whatever the number of ordinary prayer-sticks in the house, only one had the ancestral sign. This was taken on hunting expeditions, partly for protection and partly for identification in the event of death. A stick bearing the same sign and known as the *pushka-un-ni* was firmly tied to the quiver, but was not a prayer-stick.

[782] These ancestral signs are also cut on the upper side of the special prayer-sticks, *kike-ush-bashui* (Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3), offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and temporarily presented to the head of [796] the bear before its ritual dismissal. The shavings left attached to these sticks, which are freshly made of willow, are wings (*rap*) to waft prayers to the *kamui*. Bear festivals were given by the owner of the young bear, which had been captured as a cub. The host's ancestral sign was presented to the bear spirit and its ancestors in order that it might be glad to return to life for another such feast. It identified the lineal descendant (whose ancestors had given many such communal feasts), and who looked forward to many more.

In Kitami province *inau* may bear the signs of various deities. The blind elder from whom I obtained the interesting specimen shown in Pl. VI, fig. 4, told me that it was the sign of Rep-un [184] Kamui, and he called it *asupe noka*. This sign is found on other northern *inau*. I have not found any instance, in the south, of a *kamui itokpa* on either *inau* or prayer-stick.[1]

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[1] It will be noted that this sign is not similar to that on Pl. IX, fig. 6. However, Munro also photographed the *itokpa* on the reverse side of these *inau* stems, but unfortunately, the prints are not clear enough to identify the signs.—B.Z.S.

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The diagram in text figure no. 1 shows the position and numbers of the *inau* offered to important *kamui*; it will be useful for following the descriptions of festivals and magico-religious operations in southern Hokkaido. Those in the north are different; unfortunately the notes I made concerning them have been lost.

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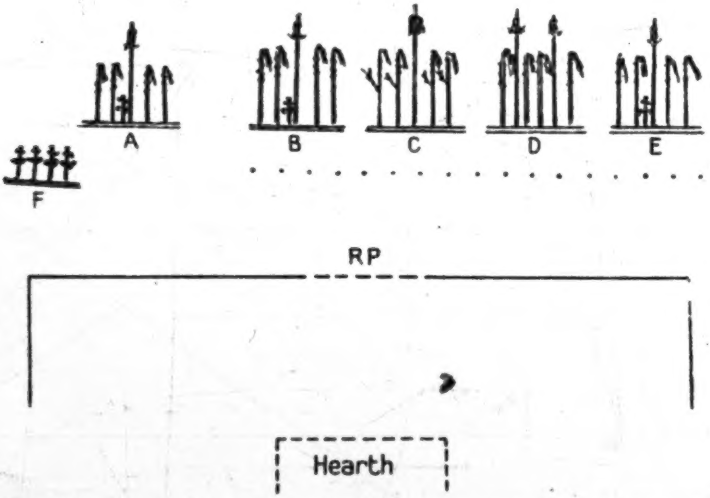
[184]
[114]

Outside the sacred window of all Ainu houses there is a series



TEXT FIGURE 1. Diagram showing the arrangement of *inau* in the *nusa* dedicated to various *kamui* at ordinary celebrations.

A. Muru-kuta *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, the chaff-thrown *nusa*.
B. Ram (soul) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui.
C. *Nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
D. *Nusa* for Pase Ongame.
E. *Nusa* of Wakka-ush Kamui.
F. Usual position for ceremony of ancestor worship.
R.P. *Rorum puyara*, sacred window, usually facing east.

of fences called *inau-san*; these are supports or shelves for *inau*. At the northern end is a detached fence reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui (A). This *nusa* is commonly called *muru-kuta nusa*, the chaff-thrown *nusa*, because discarded millet husks are heaped up on it. Here are normally four small winged *inau* (*pon shutu inau*), and one backward-shaven *inau* (*chehoro-kakep*) with a twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye inau*) for special occasions (Pl. II, fig. 5, 778 782 and Pl. III, fig. 3). All *inau* are planted in the ground, those required to be higher than their neighbours being raised on legs (*kema*), as already mentioned. Next comes the soul (*ram*) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui (B), whose 'soul' is believed to act locally for Ainu welfare. He receives the same kinds and number of *inau*, except that the small winged ones are somewhat taller than those given to Nusa-koro Kamui, as are those for the other *kamui* at the fences. Like other *kamui* he receives additions on gala occasions, to be described as they occur. It seems that formerly there was a space between the *nusa* of different *kamui*, but now, though the chaff-thrown *nusa* is always kept separate, those of the other *kamui* are often adjoined. Next is the *nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui (C)[1] who is given four small winged *inau* and one beautiful twisted shaven *inau* (*kike-parase inau*). Then comes the *nusa* (D), devoted to various *kamui*, including the bear, eagle-owl (Kotan-koro Kamui) and several others, connected with ancestral cult and worshipped at important festivals in *pase ongami* ritual. Here four or more thick winged *inau* and two twisted shaven *inau* are set up. The last *nusa* (E) is that of Wakka-ush-Kamui, who has four small winged *inau* and a backward-shaven *inau*, and on important occasions a twisted shaven *inau*. But this *kamui*, or his assistant spirits, may be offered *inau* of the two usual kinds at various riverain sites, including the site of the water-working millet pounder (*yutap*).

[774] The *nusa* fences provide resting places for the *ramat* of the *kamui*, where they may receive the appropriate offerings of *inau*. [776] Thus, the inhabitants of the house can always be in contact with the protecting (*ehangi*) *kamui*, close at hand to listen to suppliants, and protect them from evil spirits. Through the sacred window their *ramat* holds communion with Kamui Fuchi. The elders pray to her in language stereotyped by repetition from generation to generation, and she communicates with the spirits. [771] On festive occasions libations are given to the *kamui* at their respective *nusa*, and they are believed to join in the general feasting and gaiety. The ritual of the hearth and the *nusa* forms an integral part of Ainu life.

[796] In the diagram, four backward-shaven *inau* at (F) indicate the place where the 'Falling Tears' ceremony was held at every festival

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[776] [1] **Another name for this *kamui* is Iso-sange-mat. This deity gives the Ainu successful hunting and is believed to assume the guise of a small bird in its manifestation. It is also said to be a sister to the fire deity. It has other names such as Iso-ampa-Kamui, game-owning deity, and Iso-an-Kamui.—H.W.**

when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observ- 778
ance permitted to women was performed—the offering of food and 782
libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the [796]
chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different [562]
houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau*
offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a
backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her
offering.

These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent [769]
or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like
those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be
supposed, however, that they are always in a condition 'to beautify
the land and gratify the *kamui*'. Even when they were regularly
renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and
nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between [784]
the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not [576]
engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still re-
garded as an affront to the householder.

Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window.
Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain loca- [776]
tions, notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats,
above the high-water mark, Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and
Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are
offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains
where *kamui* are believed to reside.[1]

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[1] There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *petorun nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters.—H.W.

IV

EFFIGIES

778 IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*,
[774] by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concen-
[789] trated form, which are regarded as affording protection against
[782] evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and
messengers to important ones.

The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit.
[755] Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness
was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased
[182] to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their
communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its
methods of defence against evil spirits.

778 We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau*
776 to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts
dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under
532 the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with
[774] a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of
the hand-made representations of *kamui* closely resemble the
winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as
effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chinisuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for 778
its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked 776
with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency 532
to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, [824]
and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is [787]
substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro 778
Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. 782
First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and 322
a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro 532
Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul 776
nusa, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The
prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may [774]
be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal
aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of 778
the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by 776

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[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1 532

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at 773
the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is [796]
Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when [412]
these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

EFFIGIES

778 A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering
776 by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is
532 begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.

773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

778 Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner
776 till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-
532 ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by
the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby con-
[789] flagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui,
[171] was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient
is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

778 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his
776 position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indi-
552 cates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men
or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles
532 he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or
Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these
may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from
Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-roof-sustaining
532 (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and
778 other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro
776 Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post
184 about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

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[796] [1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English–Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.

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guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the 778
heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth. [184]

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the repre-
sentative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male [576]
visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped
with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He [782]
is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui
Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kamui). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*.

Shutu Inau Kamui

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged 778
inau, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has
been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on 776
Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any, the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with
a spear or sword of mugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the [774]
important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful
than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers.

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them 778
home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honour- 776
able leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most 796
reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing
of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei- 782
koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be

776 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering 782 of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small- 796 winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used [273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

[753] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the [761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*. [763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII, 776 fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour 532 and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material [824] used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

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inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird 776
cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikafuye) Kamui. It is still 532
sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while [824]
an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make [757]
than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from [796]
the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial
death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being [825]
reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-
site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed 778
to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important 776
is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. 532
Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also 751
given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV,
fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance
from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu*
inau kamui is said locally to be more for general protection or for [164)
such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for
smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is
invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One 778
of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult 776
childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one 532
of willow be insufficient. [824]

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because
it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a per- 776
son's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is un- 778
conscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually
dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other 755
shutu inau kamui, with one difference: the heart is taken not from 532
the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the [824]
entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the
house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the
hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* 782
standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end
facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui*
on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the
petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

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778 this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they
755 are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the
532 body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway
[782] deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help.
Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

[824] Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose
body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight,
[757] is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is
set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not
[789] flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another
variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

776 The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to in-
778 volve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of
322 their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inad-
532 vertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

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and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, 778
are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from 322
death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or 532
from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not
invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness
becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui
and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that
one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs
a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen [126]
seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave
it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four [796]
years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the
occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any [782]
kamui, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one back-
ward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was
that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, [796]
in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the
kamui without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the
privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should
accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy [771]
(Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of his effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be
required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui [782]
must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be
given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dis-
missal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui [796]
whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-oina Kamui was in danger of 776
being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually 773
killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

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773 Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

778 532 Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifunarep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776] A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

776 778 123 532 The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. Together they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this [278] form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of [791] the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of [755] Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance. [796] Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed [782] a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

EFFIGIES

When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been 778
used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He 776
honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so 123
frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would
save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude 532
of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the
women's girdles, to which we shall come later.

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom 778
made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching
pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* 776
on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. 789
These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. 782
They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made
of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged [184]
inau. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male
being on the east side and the female on the west.

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene.
Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the
figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed
with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII,
fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and
removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before
taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the [824]
head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms,
legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are
also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort.
Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use
swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk
resentment and serious trouble.

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and 778
is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth,
good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, 532
it is kept in a box and shown to nobody.

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a 778
place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations 823
of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially
sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though [782]
the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits
or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one
cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for

778 anthropomorphic or theriomorphic **kamui**. It is not the bear as
823 such which receives adoration at festivals, but its Ancestral Host
[769] or primeval ancestors as mountain deities vaguely identified with 'the strength of the hills'.[1] I am told that hills not specially reserved for **kamui** worshipped at the *pase ongami* are mostly revered as the home of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

Worship of rocks and standing stones is not very common. A rock near Nibutani faintly resembling a bear used to receive attention. In the north, at a place near Lake Kutcharo called Oya-kot, there is a standing stone which is said to be a monument or image of Moshiri-kara Kamui. He is supposed to have left it with some of his *ramat* on retiring after the creation of the world. It is highly venerated and probably worshipped. Batchelor[2] mentions a natural stone at Usu on the south-west coast, which appears to have been worshipped, and tells of boulders in rivers, which were believed to harbour kelpies and were said to have been charged with the destruction of an enemy while crossing the river.

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[1] According to the Ainu the bear itself is a mountain deity which brings skin
[776] and flesh to be given to them. The deity would be pleased to be caught by a
[825] good-tempered hunter and visit his house, bringing its precious gifts. For the hunter, the visit of a mountain deity should be an occasion of great honour. In return for the skin and flesh he would offer entertainment to the visitor and send him back to his home country with great ceremony. In the deity's home-country, it is believed, his relatives and their chief live, and they would welcome the deity with precious souvenirs given him by the Ainu. The chief deity would command his subordinate to visit such a good Ainu again.—H.W.

[2] *The Ainu and their Folklore*, London, 1901, pp. 399–400.

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chisei*, but as we 342
have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the 346
Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much [192]
as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest
thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.[1] This [622]
was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on
great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this [796]
district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for [231]
sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration
at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.[2]
Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when
crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety
special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule
every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred
to Kamui Fuchi.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inau* fences, 351
already described, conferred protection and help on those who 342
served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed 778
to be permeated by *ramat* from Shiramba Kamui, and because of
this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure [789]
that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

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[1] The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways.—N.G.M.

[2] The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W. [796]

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[556] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[789] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against

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[776]
[231] [1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a trigod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In
[173] legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which
[174] was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu 342
honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but
for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in [789]
the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering [776]
made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were [231]
attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where [782]
mischievous spirits might lurk. [778]

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house.
Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire- 342
bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 353
5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a 354
heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and
defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the
sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called
abe-kesh, and the space near it where the women and children sit
is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-
sam*) (C).

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennuikesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly
above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4).
These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame
(*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance,
the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench
for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and
when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not
replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried.
The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's [587]
brother.

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before [796]
its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-
koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through
the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but
Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited
with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not

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353 from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached
354 to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations
[796] were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders
[782] emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit
354 service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never
764 buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the
774 living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing
one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly,
354 as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the
775 dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground,
[184] the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits
of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth
(Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor
is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely
if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In
this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1]
kamui, powerful *kamui*.

354 The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi,
776 and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder,
774 before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing
embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every
night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out.
When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During
that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that
the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe
[688] betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no
[586] worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who
reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery
as a reason for divorce.

[796] Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of
[782] food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an
oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed
to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth
before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were
erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

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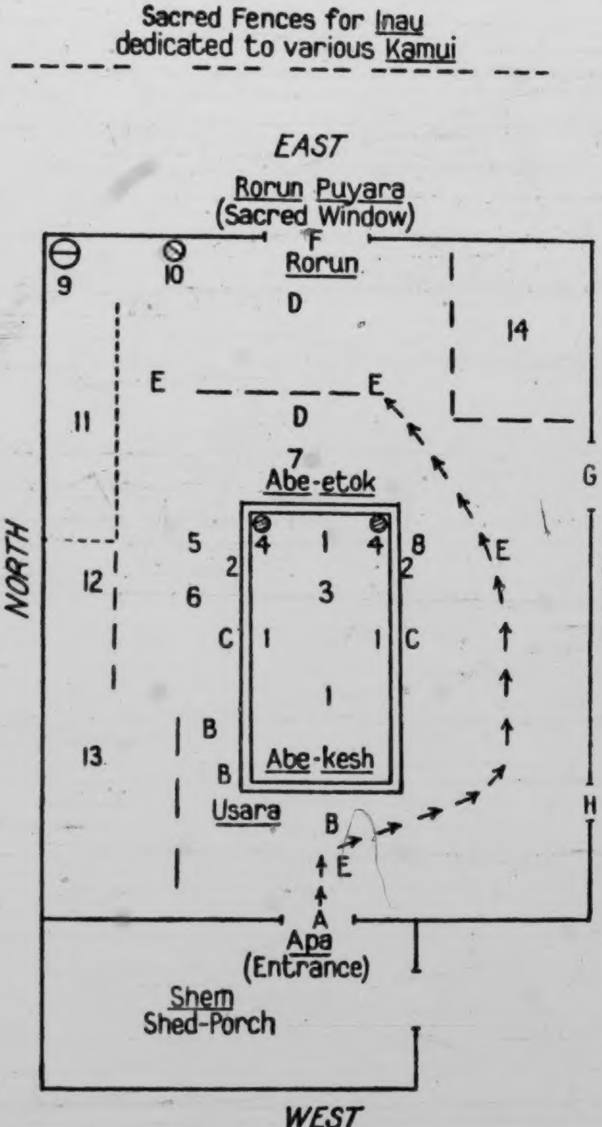
[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

[P. 59]

3.42
778
353
354


Sacred Fences for Inau dedicated to various Kamui
EAST
Rorun Puyara (Sacred Window)
F
Rorun
9
10
D
14
E
E
D
11
7
Abe-etok
G
NORTH
SOUTH
5
4
1
4
8
2
2
12
6
3
C
1
1
C
1
B
13
B
Abe-kesh
Usara
B
H
E
A
Apa (Entrance)
Shem
Shed-Porch
WEST

Text Figure 2.—Plan of Ainu house.

354 sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any
776 way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed
774 the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the
[462] hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder
would not expose his soles to it.

354 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire,
ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower
776 end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual
impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari
Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed
to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui
could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was.
Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than
between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth
554 assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes
according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5),
with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife
she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious,
could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured
[574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the
side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9).
[776] Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*,
which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a
shutu inau kamui is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the
interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the
far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11)
523 near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being
[353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained
in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered.
[439] The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and
[177] lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly
important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among
other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer

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[844]

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many 415
kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and 523
sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices
(*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands.
At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet [796]
(*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in [782]
Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*)
to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a [322]
handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend
Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations.
All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a
shintoko.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. 301
They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads 177
may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving
as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some pro- 789
tective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of 422
social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting [554]
the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards
the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits. [304]

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords 411
(*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords
are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the 177
tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries 353
such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were
allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly 523
Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we 422
might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the
latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both
classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly 353
bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei*
sembe or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice 523
might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far 422
enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the 177
treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu 342

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[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-horpe* and *huchi-horpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W. [428]

[523] workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they
[177] were knife-worked.

[342] The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects
that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and
422 tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true,
411 are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least
[531] one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu
and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings.
[789] These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in
the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when
there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when
[755] a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for
disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with
great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they
and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached where-
with they are hung over the shoulder.

422 Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden
789 blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil.
Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value
[777] even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck
in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins.
This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner
could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious,
ikoro ikeu, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various
reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike
[773] of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends,
[532] the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from
nish, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of
sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*,
shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

353 No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes
342 and things under feminine control, including some things pre-
[513] pared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the
children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*),
[264] and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and
other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and
it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the
342 bowl-licking finger (*itangi-hem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing
(*kembe*).

574 Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests 342
always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before 574
them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions
indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting
ceremonial arrangements.

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in 342
all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame 353
stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is sus- 417
pended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs
from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen
in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one [415]
(Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the [412]
other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has [322]
a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame [824]
of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and
then slowly dried to rigidity.

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known col- 412
lectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just men- 415
tioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket
(*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important [845]
parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two [789]
take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings,
in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is [755]
also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to
induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled [782]
shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted.
Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth.

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed 352
matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They
are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all
festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in
Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed [527]
before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this [789]
position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated
ramat is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general [774]
similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families.
For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI.

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the
house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the
[241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was
[776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to
offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies
[688] are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I
was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than
twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the
[771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for th[illegible]voidance
[783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation
[841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in
[843] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet
343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears
825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to
flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy,
often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also
entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the
big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of
[462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-*
Epungine (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of
the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with
fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the
shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was
held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog
or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru
[192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real
housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing
wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title
of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also
applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat
[778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she
is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

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[192] [1] ***Haru*** **means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui***
***haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only**
[262] **under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests.**
Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another
for fish.—H.W.

inau.[1] After the sacred brewing these *inau* were stuck in the reed wall, a number accumulating in the course of time. They are now seldom seen, but one hears that the curled shavings which still hang at the junction of wall and roof are either offerings to, or contain the *ramat* of, Kenru Katkimat. 776 778

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[1] Munro states that the *chisei-koro inau* is a twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*), similar to that shown in Pl. III, fig. 3, and he has never known an elder confuse it with Chisei-koro Kamui (see Chapter VI, p. 72, and Chapter VIII, p. 88). —B.Z.S.

VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the
796 location of the hearth, which must be free from contamina-
354 tion by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to
ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought
necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house-
[184] building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high
repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from
elsewhere show slight variations.

[778] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the
sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one
backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba
Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or
saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the
hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This
tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an
important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX,
[174] fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the
Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the
mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

[417] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from
a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen
[782] has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui
Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the house-
holder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing
ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had
one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

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father or some other suitable elder. This new fire must not be 796
allowed to die out. 354

The following offerings should be made: at the site of the chaff-
thrown *nusa* four small winged *inau* and one backward-shaven [782]
inau; at that of the soul *nusa* the same, and at that of Hash-inau-uk
Kamui four bush (*hash*) *inau*. Often four small winged *inau* are set
up for Pet-Orun Kamui, and at the seaside, where fishing and the
protection of fishermen and their boats are important, a *nusa* may
be set up for Masara-koro Kamui, the spirit possessor of the shore
just above high tide mark.

At his soul *nusa* Shiramba Kamui is asked to send a dream to the [782]
officiating elder. Kamui Fuchi is also appealed to and sometimes
the other two 'important' *kamui* as well.[1] An elder usually allows [787]
a week to pass, during which he watches out for dreams. If there
is no dream it is a good augury; if there is a bad dream—and in
this connection a dream of animals, of angry scenes, or of water
overflowing the site, is bad—the rite of purification (*epiru*) must
be performed. In the days before the Japanese administration a [177]
new site would be selected, but today this is not often available. If,
therefore, evil spirits are in possession of the site and there is no 342
alternative, they must be driven away, and this is achieved by the 789
purification ceremony. It seems probable that nowadays purifica- 354
tion may be carried out as a matter of routine, even if there has 796
been no bad augury; at any rate it is very commonly performed.

For the purification ceremony the *shutu inau kamui* called [782]
Chikube-ni Kamui, described above (Chapter IV), is made and,
after prayer to Shiramba Kamui, Chikube-ni Kamui is invoked and told there is an evil spirit, and he is asked to oust it. Then the ceremony of purification by brushing out evil magic (*ukakik*) is undertaken. Two elders enter the lists against the invisible foe. One takes Chikube-ni Kamui in his right hand and a small branch of the *chikube* tree in his left, while his companion takes a branch of the same tree in each hand. Starting at the position of the future sacred window they walk slowly round the site in opposite directions, beating vigorously and uttering expostulations. The main posts of the house must be safeguarded, so the elders stop at each corner and redouble their efforts. They say no prayers but simply

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[1] It is not clear whether these *nusa* are set up at the new plot or whether the offerings of *inau* referred to here are made at the *inau* fence of the old house. But it is probable that the latter is implied.—B.Z.S.

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.[1] Chikube-ni Kamui is then
796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the
house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established. He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted. Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then
782 removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has
returned to the god who gave it, and residual *mawe*[2] will be gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms, flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is addressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Operating on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by them, their *mawe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed. Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offerings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

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[1] In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has
[114] been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

[192] [2] *Mawe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

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In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for 342
when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil 796
spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not 778
matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic 776
odour (*sekusa mawe eseremak koro*).

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional 342
techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of 796
the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before
the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred [273]
beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation
is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because [656]
the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the [776]
ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never [769]
omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral
cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly
about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account
of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is [273]
not considered necessary for their worship.

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. 342
It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the
making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That 796
elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and 273
also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew [192]
did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the
heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for
religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt
at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful [776]
character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the
south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing
some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low
alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible.

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to 342
describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven 273
inau to Kamui Fuchi, burns it on the hearth and [782]
beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent
spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer.

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

342
273 the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six
pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge,
poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood
heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

342 A tub (*poro shintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in
273 height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the
usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation
415 in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and
enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is
placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet
chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded
mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put
in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments
have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an
[789] albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui
[776] Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned
above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round
the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed
to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of
twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put
round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining
process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the
band.

Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

776 Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual.
342 Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made.
273 Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh
778 backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short
796 prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to
bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are
[782] given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are
burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of
the door.

000 At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

with the straining while my cinema expert filmed it; it was a ritual 342
survival from happier times. The straining is done through a 273
shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes
used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast [126]
and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is [535]
washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekuru*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them.

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual 342
house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. 372
Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that
the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When 796
drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock, which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes.

The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the in- 342
going occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his 372
own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays
to the Kiyanne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those 796
ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within 782
reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, [593]
Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the [604]
prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had

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372 been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to
796 the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct
782 descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony,
[778] and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the
[776] ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by
[776] Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

527 Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon em-
342 ployed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

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[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-koro Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

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[171] [2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

576

The ritual salutation (*ongami*) was mentioned above, and as it occurs in all ceremonies it should be described. The arms are slightly extended in front, the hands are opposed and rubbed together, mostly backwards and forwards but with a slight sideways motion. They are then separated, with palms upward but at a slight angle. The head is more or less bowed according to the degree of respect implied, and the hands are raised to the brow. They are then brought down with a stroking of the beard or a similar motion. When great respect is to be shown, this may be accompanied by a bowing movement and a backward step. The latter is seen only in the retiring salutation, but a salutation is always made when approaching *kamui*, even if it be only bowing and raising the hands.

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the bulb of a lily (*Lilium glehni*). Tuberous roots such as *Muk* and *Mukekashi* (*Codonopsis lanceolata and Adenophora verticillata*) were cooked for such an occasion, also chestnuts and water calthrop (Ainu, *Pekambe* or *Peccan*, thing). A wild garlic (*Pukusa*) was used for flavouring as well as medicinally or magically. Various fruits in season, wild grapes, raspberries (*Hat* and *Emauri*), walnuts and others might be used, the two first but rarely.

Of green vegetables from the wilds there is some variety. They were either cooked fresh or dried and kept till required. A skunk cabbage (*Shikerebe-kina*) was plentiful, also the *Petanites Japonicus* (*Koroho-ni*), the young stems and leaves of which were a great resource, either fresh, dried or pickled. This plant sometimes attains a height of about five feet. *Ukuru-kina* (*Hosta Caerulea*) is another favourite vegetable, the stalks of which are pleasant to the taste. —N.G.M.

VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

(*CHISEI NOMI*)

342 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for
527 detailed description because it includes the main features of all Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of
[184] detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few, and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual dismissal of the bear.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi
[774] but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of Shiramba Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch-
[789] safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof. The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted, an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui*
[782] are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, 342
are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be 527
admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order.
Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been
dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered
robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places
(10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the [778]
sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro
Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for
which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the 342
top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with 527
four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tukinum*). 353
These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A [782]
libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind
the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in [415]
text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window
is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often [415]
stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All
the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the [354]
lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to
Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before 342
entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the 576
hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder,
stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. 527
To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp
reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend
or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but [178]
a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less
strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and
hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before
the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but
at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards
the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial
salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to [776]
be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit
of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to
the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

342 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then
576 sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown
527 on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately.
He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and
then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon
as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female
527 relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with
[554] children at (13).

When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to
342 the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the
beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of
527 the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to
273 right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking
some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills
a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again
going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled
partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug
the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the
beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure
against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial
pouring into the cups is called *iu-mare*.

342 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty
527 elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers
782 to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside.
The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so,
naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless
as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress
and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is
conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who
[411] takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that
whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and
by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the
elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when
offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling
Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

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[301] [1] *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands
of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a
[789] carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the
elder against evil spirits. Women also are supp[redacted] to wear a kind of tiara
(*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

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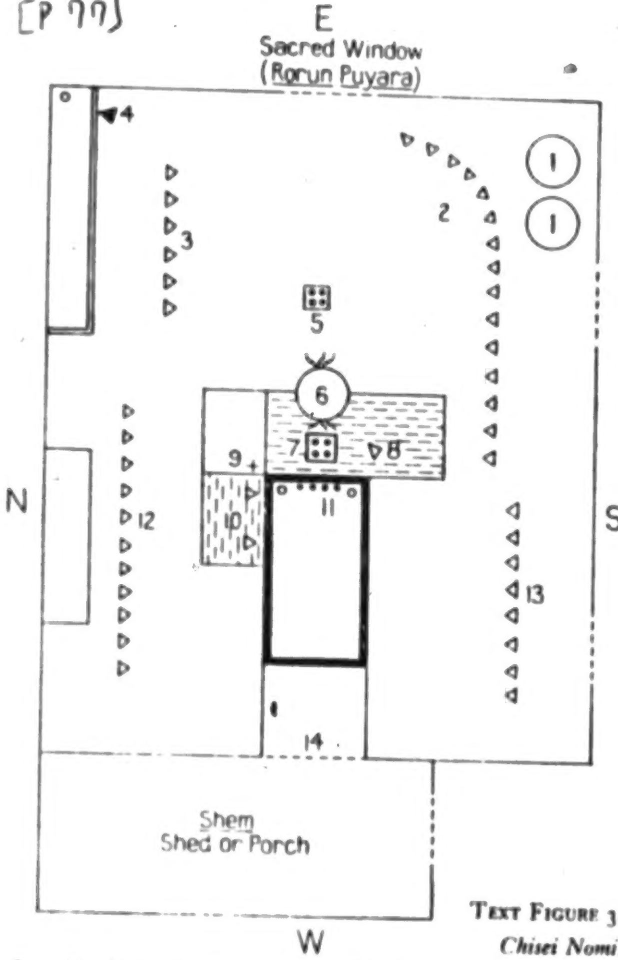

Text Figure 3.—
Chisei Nomi.

1. *Pora shintoko*, great receptacles for *ashkoro*.
2. Position of male guests on arrival.
3. Male relatives.
4. *Ekashi* offering to Chisei-koro Kamui.
5, 7. Trays with four *tuki* and *ikubashui* each.
6. *Sai shintoko*, for *ashkoro* during the celebrations.
8. *Ekashi* on a sacred mat (*inau-so*) doing *ongami* to Kamui Fuchi before leaving the house.
9. *Chisei-koro inau*.
10. Householder or deputy, and housewife. The former gives a libation to Kamui Fuchi, with a prayer.
11. Four *chehorakakep inau* erected in the ashes of the hearth.
12. Female relatives and elderly female friends.
13. Female guests with children.
14. Entrance.

342 beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The
527 ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have
782 only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-
[411] koro Kamui and the ancestors.

To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to
[292] Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the
[776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used
for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of
[823] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death,
[764] and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

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[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and
[114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] [2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

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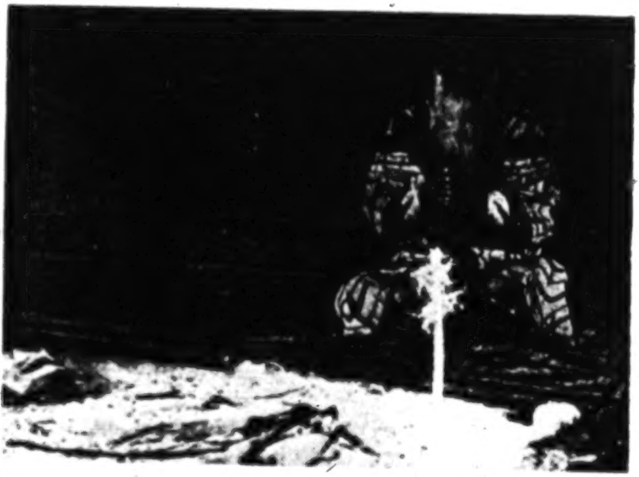

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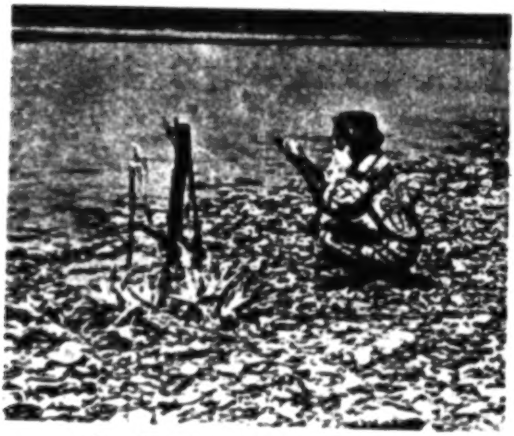

Fig. 1. The *ekashi* makes a preliminary prayer to Kamui Fuchi.
Fig. 2. At the river bank, the *ekashi* calls on the good *kamui* of the home to fight against the evil *kamui*.
Fig. 3. The *ekashi* invoking Mintushi Kamui (a water spirit).

PLATE XVII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (A)]

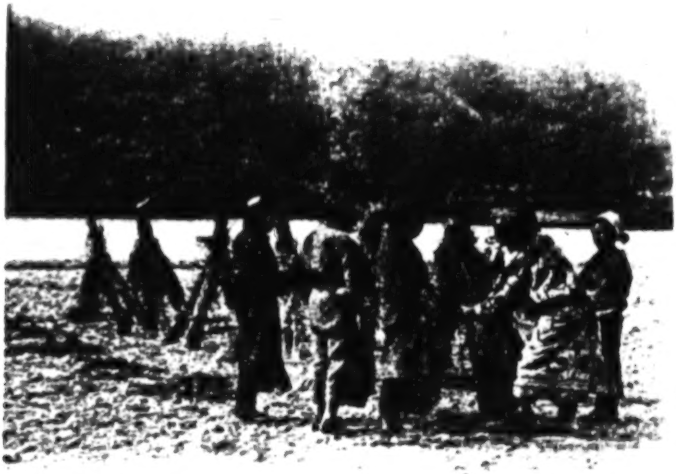

Fig. 1. The first 'house of evil' is raised.

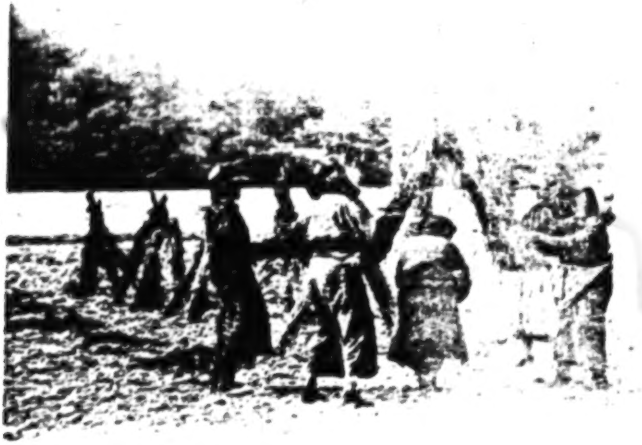

Fig. 2. The 'house of evil' is lighted and patient passes through the burning arch.

PLATE XVIII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (B)]

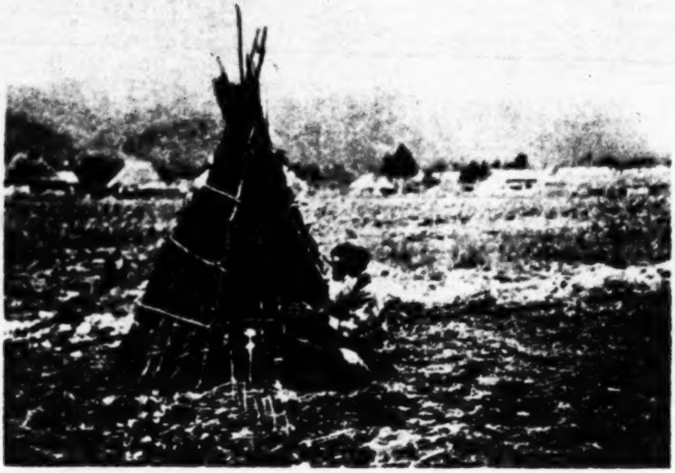

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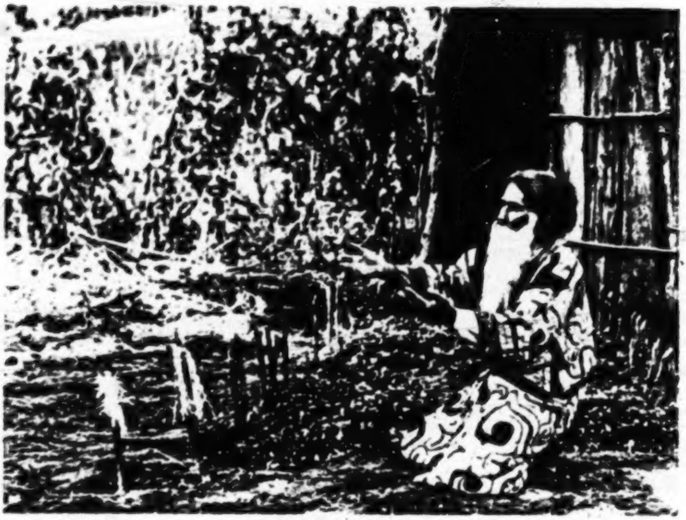
Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.



[142]
[302]
[292]
[531]

Fig. 2. *Ekashi* invokes Ru-koro Kamui (*kamui* of the privy) before exorcism rites.

PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p 78 (c)]

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[p. 78, (1)]

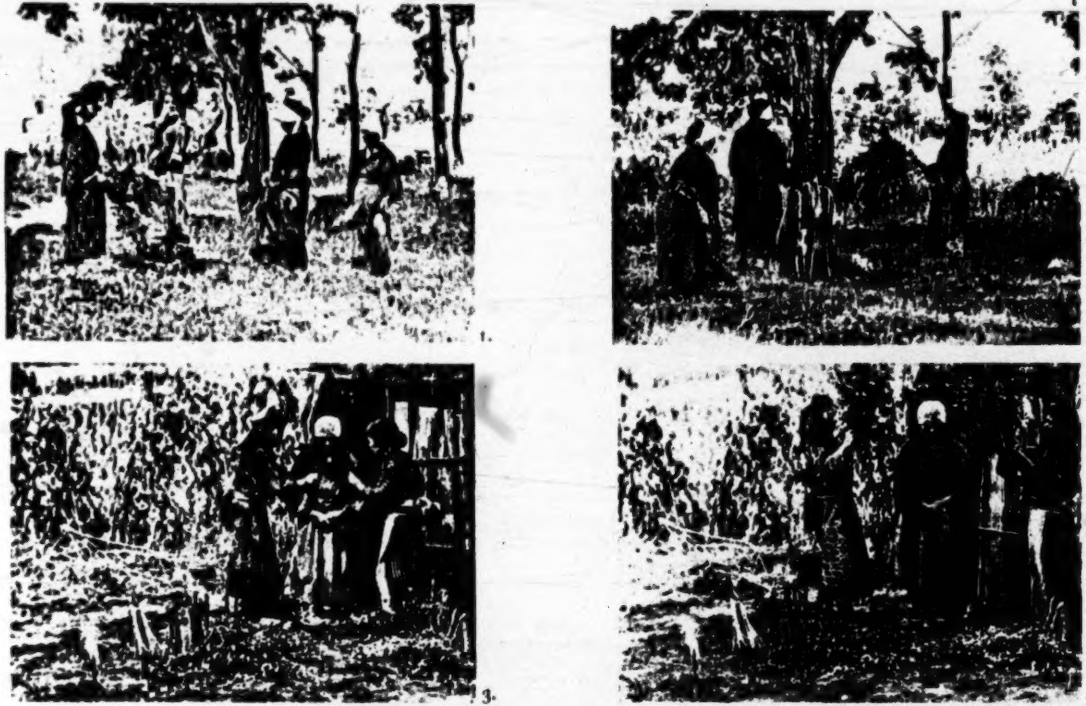
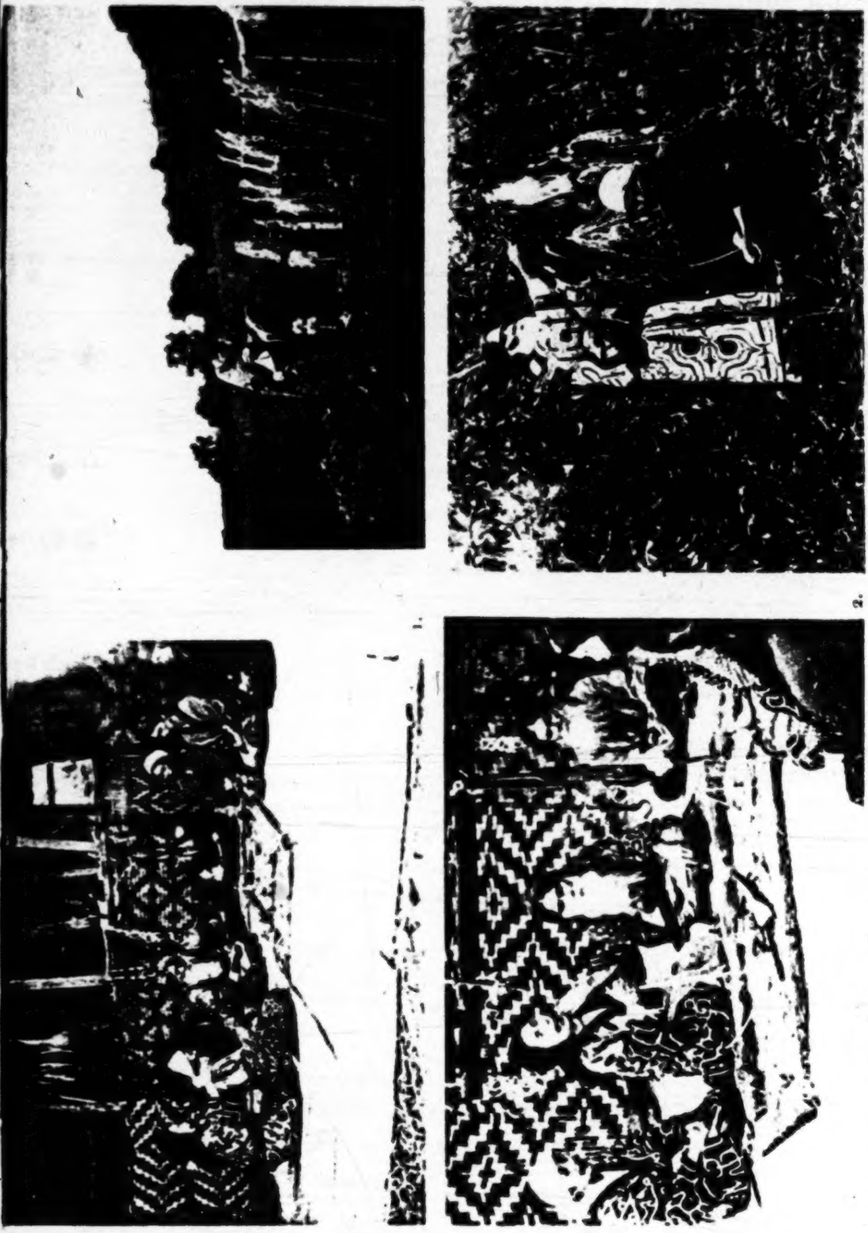


Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays at second tree. Fig. 2. Patient at third tree. Fig. 3. Patient is stroked with millet heads at the privy. Fig. 4. Patient is beaten with switches at the privy.

PLATE XX. EXORCISM RITES.



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→

Fig. 1. An *imu* woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. *Imu* woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. *Ekashi* treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kinashut Kamui at the *nusa* set up for him. Fig. 4. *Ekashi* treats patient possessed by a hornet.

PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]

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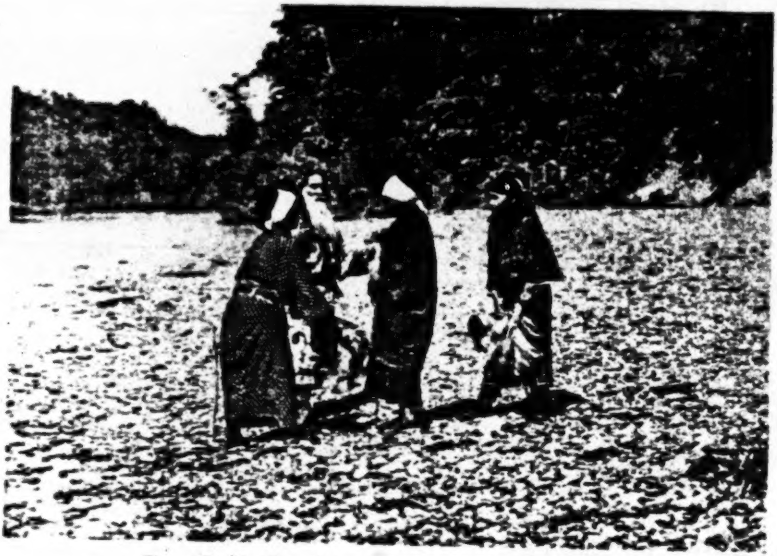

Fig. 1. Purification of patient by beating at the river bank.

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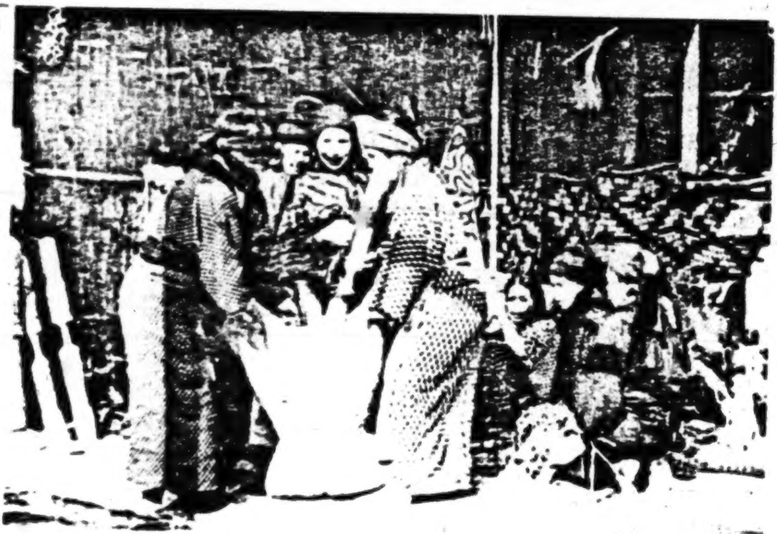
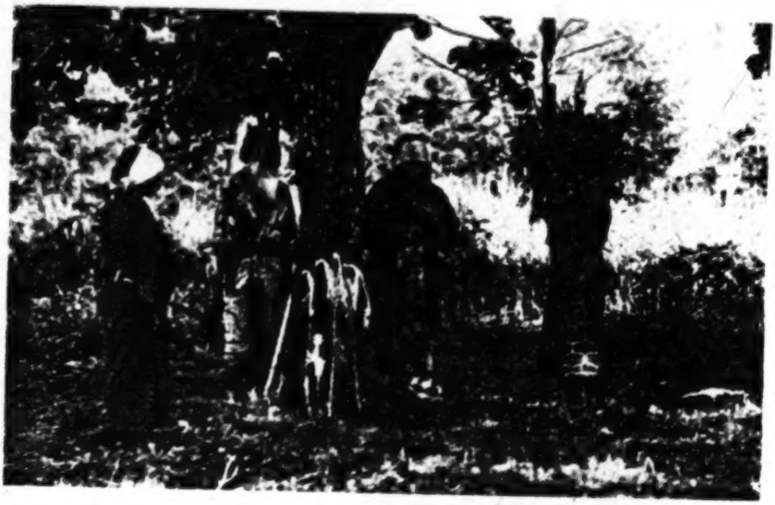


Fig. 2. Thumping the wooden mortar so that its spirit may relieve woman in difficult labour.

PLATE XXII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (F)]



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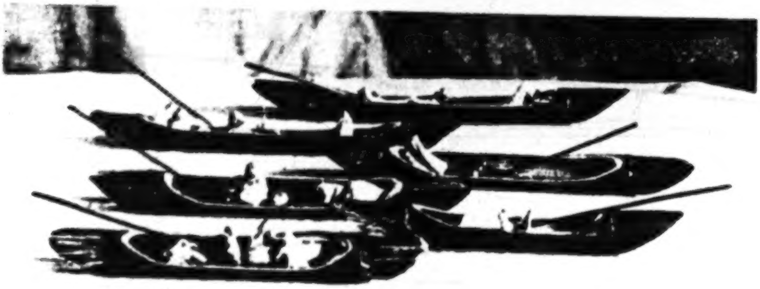

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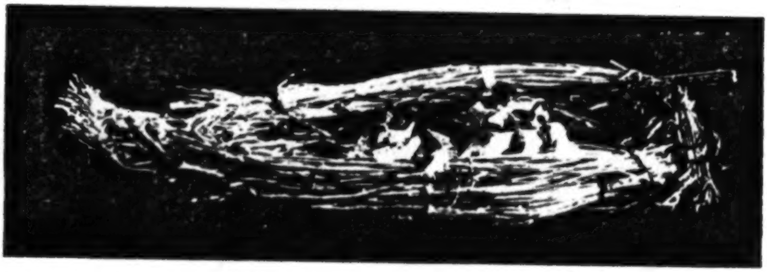

Fig. 1. Treatment for phthisis at tree.
Fig. 2. Boats to be floated down-stream, into which the patient has spat.
Fig. 3. Straw boat loaded with provisions, to induce Pakoro Kamui to depart.

PLATE XXIII. EXORCISM RITES: TREATMENT FOR PHTHISIS.

[p. 78 (G)]

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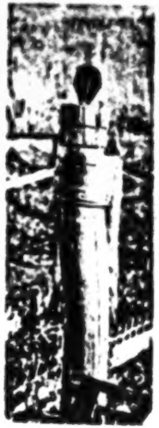
[775]
[789]

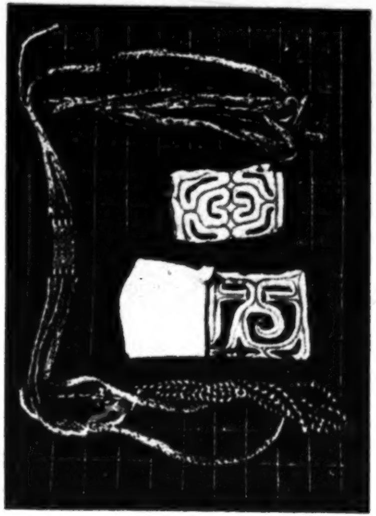
[301]
[291]
[531]

[p. 78, (H)]

1.



2.



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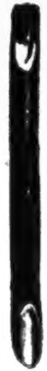

4.

Fig. 1. Grave post for a man. Fig. 2. Grave post for a woman. Fig. 3. Headband and mittens for the corpse, and black and white cord to lace the mat in which it is wrapped. Headband is woven with three strands instead of four for the living. Fig. 4. Ghost trap.

PLATE XXIV. FUNERARY OBJECTS.

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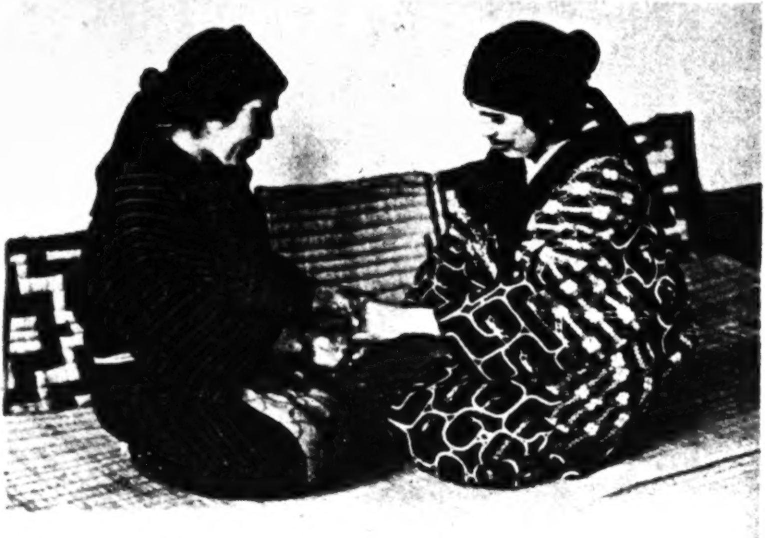

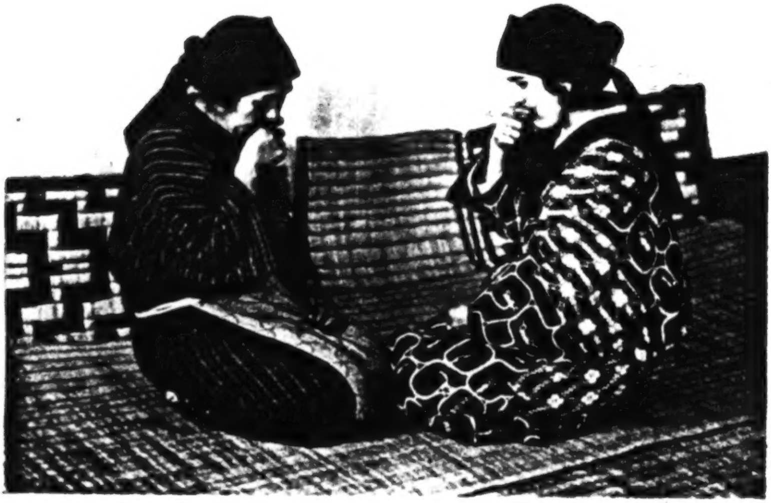

Fig. 1. First action. Fig. 2. Last action.

PLATE XXV. WOMEN DOING *UMUSA* (MUTUAL CONDOLENCE).

[p. 78, (I)]

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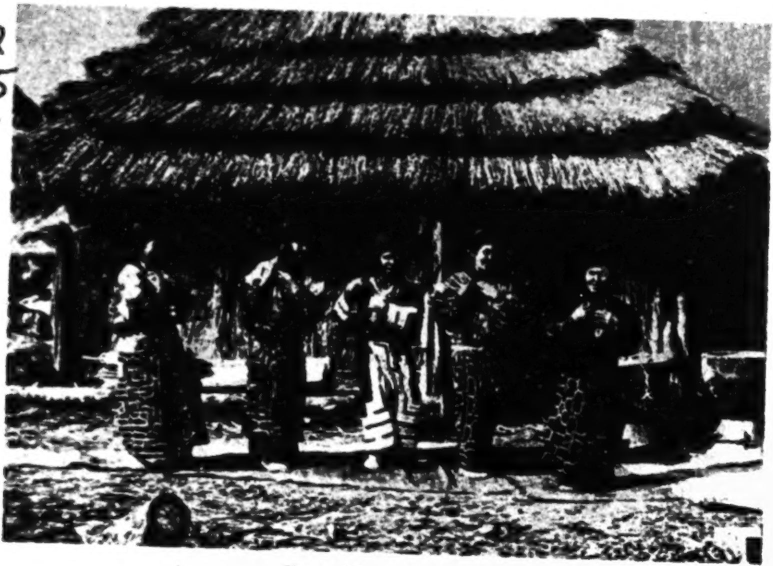

Fig. 1. Women's dance.

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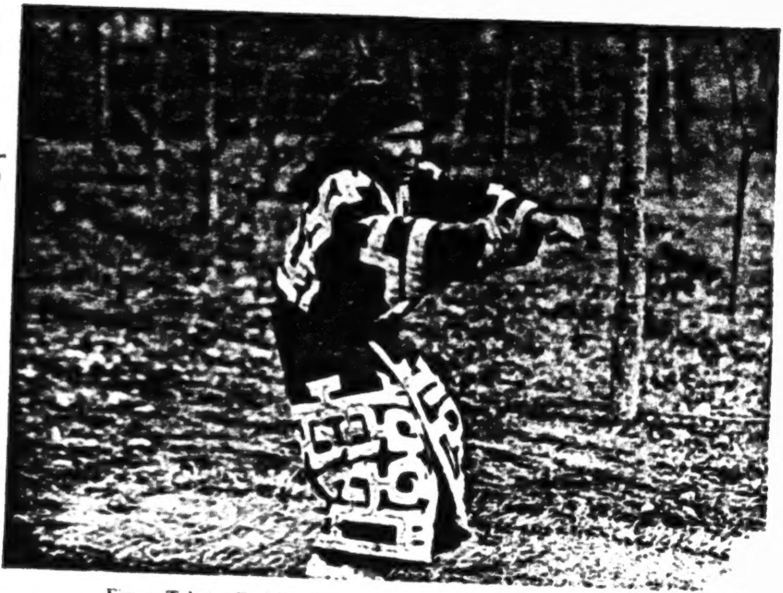

Fig. 2. Tekatte Fuchi, a woman 84 years old, doing the frog dance.

PLATE XXVI. WOMEN DANCING.

[p. 78, (J)]

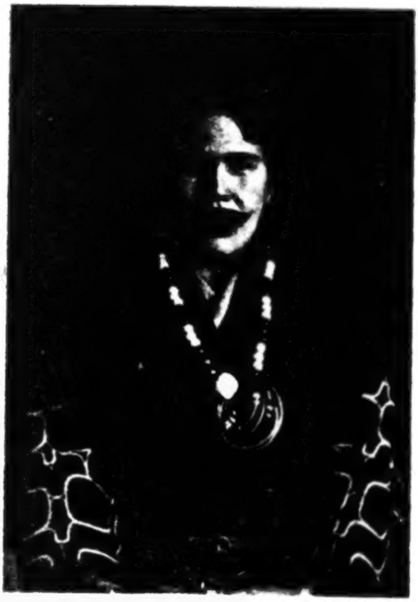

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Fig. 1. A woman whom Munro treated for stomach trouble and who gave him his first information about the *kut*.

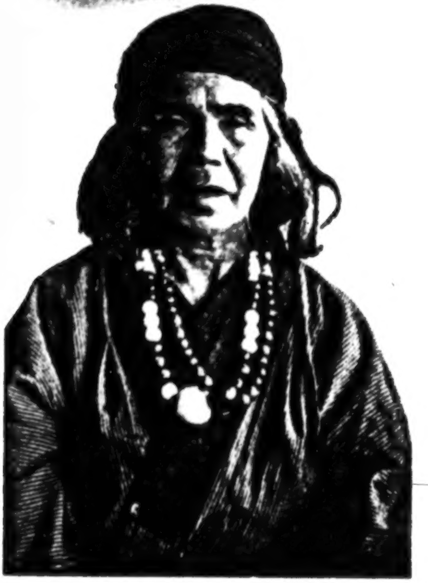

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Fig. 2. Wife of Tumashumi, an informant on the *kut* and an authority on dancing.

PLATE XXVII. AINU WOMEN.

[p. 78, (K)]

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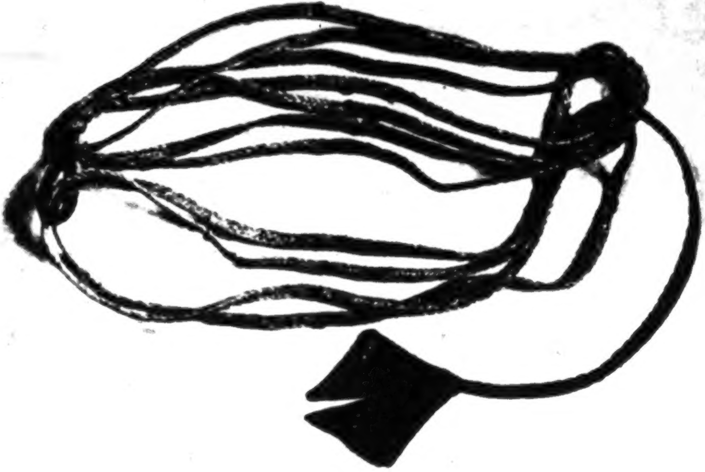

Fig. 1. *Upshoro Kut* of Kim-un-Kamui.

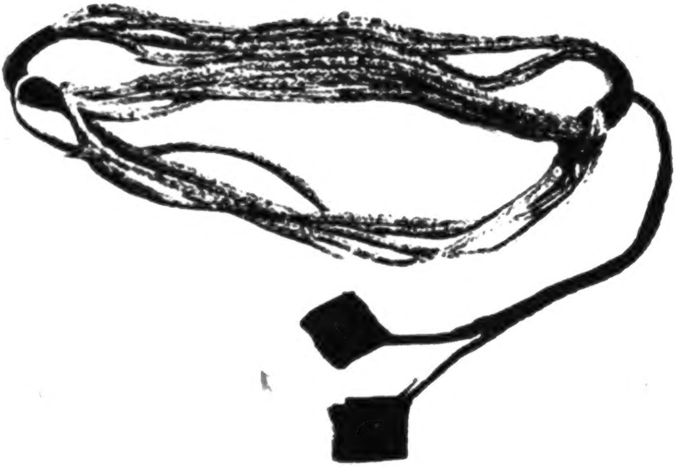

Fig. 2. *Upshoro Kut*, traced to Rep-un-Kamui.

PLATE XXVIII. SECRET GIRDLES.

[p 78, (L).]

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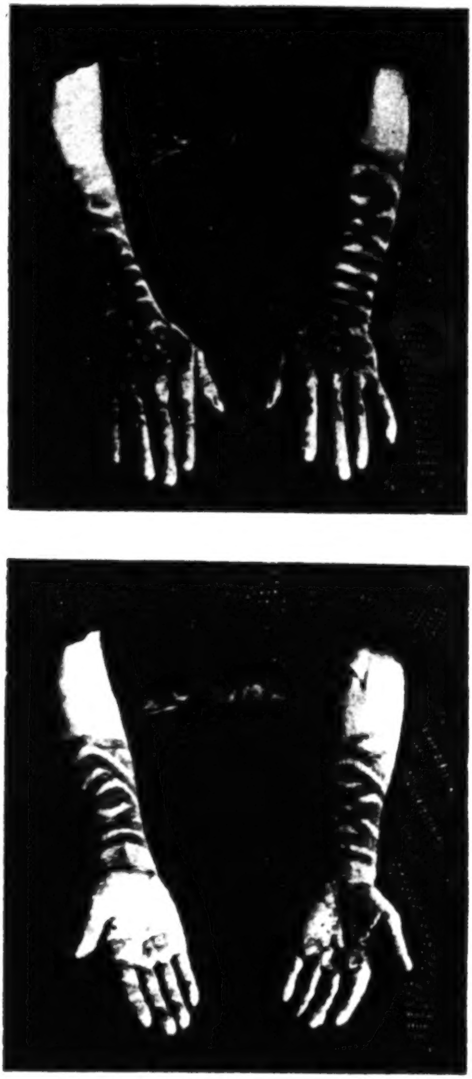

PLATE XXIX. TATTOOING ON HANDS AND ARMS OF A FEMALE MEDIUM (*TUSU*).

[p. 78, (M)]

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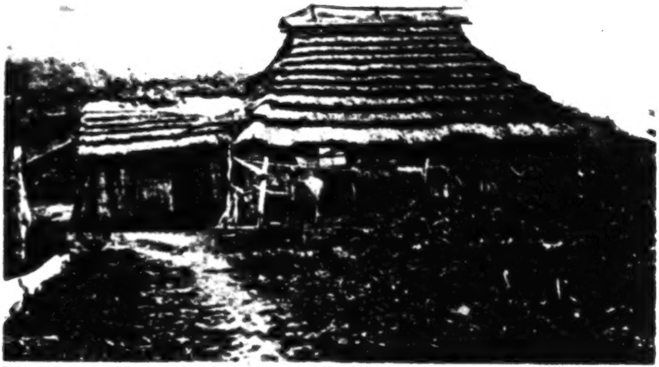

1.

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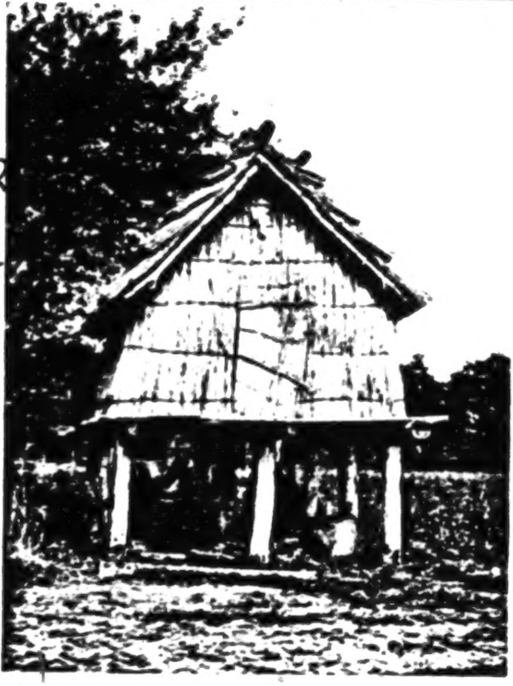

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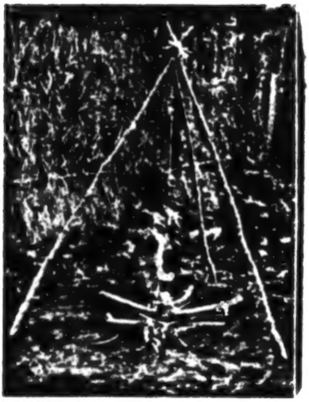

3.

Fig. 1. House with porch, south side. Fig. 2. Store house. Fig. 3. Tripod (*chisei inoka*) for purification of new house site.

PLATE XXX. HOUSE, STOREHOUSE AND CEREMONIAL TRIPOD.

[p. 78, (N)]

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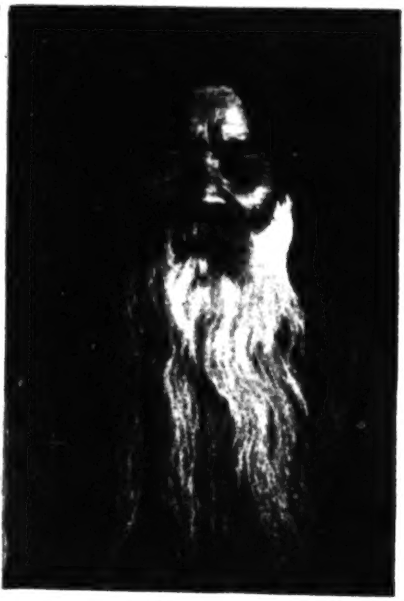
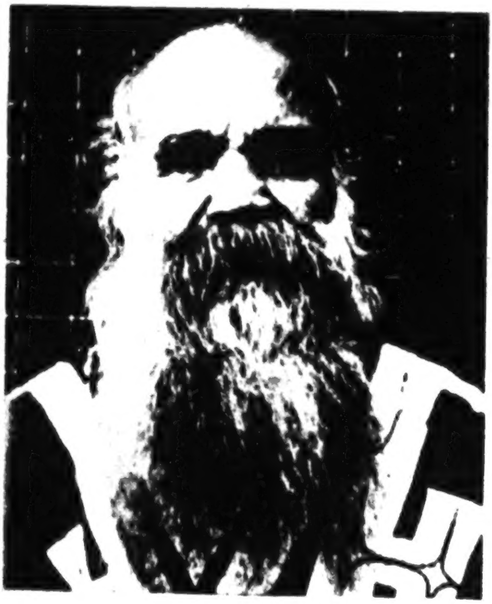


1.



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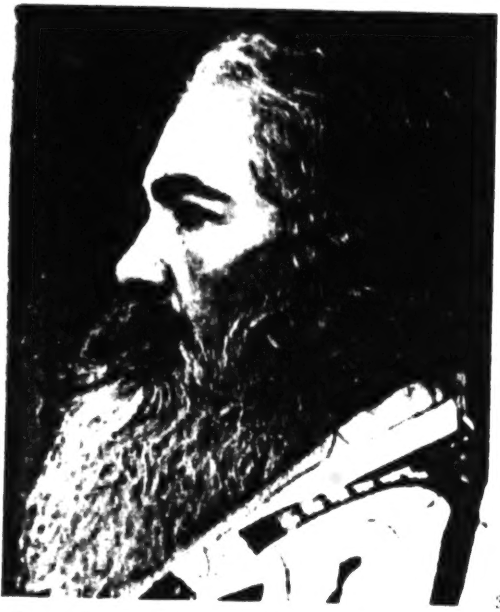

3.

Fig. 1. Isonash, an informant. Fig. 2. Kotan Pira, an informant about 78 years old.
Fig. 3. Shirambe, another informant, aged 74.

PLATE XXXI. SOME OF MY INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (0)]

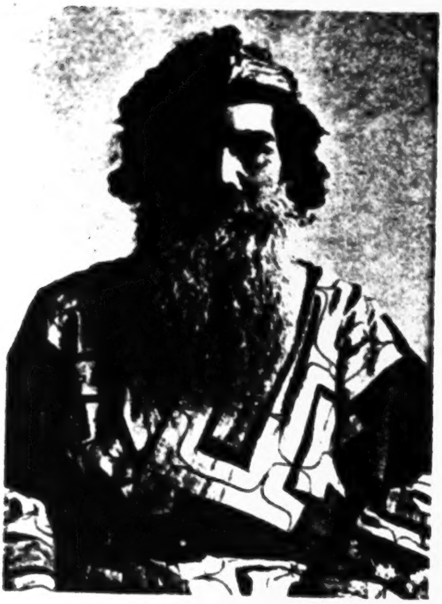

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Fig. 1. Tumashnuri Ekashi, a teacher who spent nearly half his life in Sakhalin.

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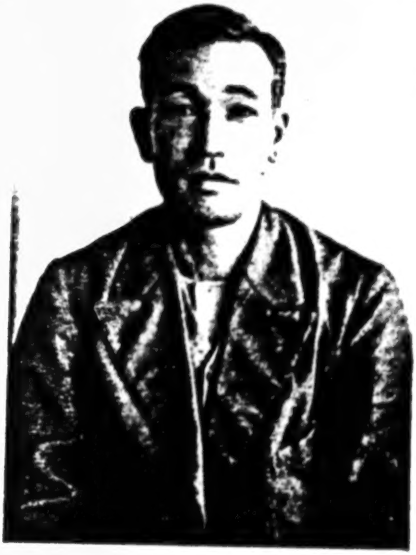

Fig. 2. Jensuke, my young Ainu assistant.

PLATE XXXII. MORE INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (P)]

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proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun. 342 527 [764] [823] [775]

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing. [769] [778]

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess [273]

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lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M. [533]

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M. [789] [827]

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

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Kamui Moire Mat. He takes the lees in his hand and throws some at the foot of the *inau* fence, some to the north of it and some to the south. The Ekashi now returns to the head of the hearth, coming by the north wall as he went out. He replaces the cup on the tray, makes salutation to Kamui Fuchi and tells her that he has obeyed her behest, and then removes his sword and retires to his place.

While this has been going on the animal heads regarded as spirit protectors have been put on trays and placed near the top of the hearth. The householder gives each two or three drops of lees from the bottom of his cup. It is not merely those which guarded the beer during fermentation that are entitled to this treat, but all others that may be in the house. This libation from Kamui Fuchi's cup is accompanied by a short statement that it is for her, so will she please continue to guard the treasures and other property against evil.

The householder also gives a few drops of beer to the lower end of the hearth, with a brief address to Uari Kamui, and performs the same rite for the Apa-san Kamui. After the appointed elders have performed the main services any guest who chooses may give a libation either to Chisei-koro Kamui or to one of the *kamui* at the *inau* fence. Such spontaneous worship should be short and unostentatious, and should be performed before the special service for the dead. Up to that time the utmost decorum prevails—or ought to. Laughter and jocular remarks are bad form, and I am told that until the spirits of the dead ancestors are properly served the proceedings are serious, even solemn.

In a sense every service to the *kamui* (*Kamui Nomi*) was a service to 'All Souls', and levity would be unseemly while the revered and potent spirits of the Ancestral Host, and of the world around, were awaiting their meed of oblation and praise. Irreverence would slight the *kamui* and invite punishment.

We have seen that the male guests steal into the room in a slow [576] and diffident manner; the women steal in still more quietly and humbly, and take their places shown on the plan. They do not [562] drink their small allowance of beer from cups which have been used in service to the *kamui*, and, with the exception of the Falling Tears ceremony, take no part in religious observance. They should [292] keep silent till the ceremony ends and the festivities begin. They show reverence (*oripak*) by wearing the headdress or a black scarf, [789] and should never attend worship of the *kamui* unless wearing the

342

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity 527
of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true 782
Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, [292]
and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*). [789]

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in [582]
its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four back-
ward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No 342
drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near 527
the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the 782
sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the 177
embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up.
There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It
seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is
made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually 342
omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window 527
merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip,
and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* 782
fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on 273
the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are [769]
apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a sub- [796]
stitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by
Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been [115]
confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and
there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter 342
its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the
formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebra- 527
tions, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be 782
arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, 554
mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each
sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence— [516]
guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being
nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the
hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

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[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The [177]
Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony
till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu
women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with
knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally
squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

527 from that which follows the worship of the other gods and the
782 ceremony of Falling Tears.

554 A sacred tradition runs—'*Anomi kamui inne, vakka uko kiyanne, uko iresu*, Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui *ne ruwe ne*', which means—'However numerous the worshipped *kamui*, together most capable, together most sustaining [maintaining] are those three.' There is no doubt that they form a group bound together not only by co-related ritual but by their intimate association in safeguarding the house and promoting the welfare
342 of its inmates.

Offerings of beer are made and prayers said to all the *kamui* who
527 have *nusa* along the *inau* fence. The purport of all the prayers is
778 similar—for safety, offspring, health and good fortune—and before
782 each prayer the recipient is addressed by flattering titles. Each rite ends with the throwing of a handful of lees as a sop to any evil spirits who may be hanging round. In the offerings to Hash-inau-uk Kamui the winged variety of libation wand is used, and this wand is not taken back through the sacred window but is tied to a strand of the embodied *inau*.[1] Some beer is left in the cup after she has had her drop and the elder his swig. An ordinary libation wand is substituted for the winged one, and young men may take a sip. This is for luck or for help from the *kamui* when hunting.
[777] Prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui under his name of Pet-orun Kamui, and to his female counterpart Nai-orun Kamui. The offering to the latter is not made at the *inau* fence of Wakka-ush Kamui, but at a special *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* and one *inau* with a body and twisted shavings which is set up near water. Should the water be at a distance the rite is performed by a younger man. It must be performed before the full ritual salutations are given and
[184] the Falling Tears ceremony performed. In the Nibutani district five *kamui* receive beer and one twisted shaven *inau* each before the ritual salutation, and here and elsewhere special worship is given to the eagle-owl, which receives a twisted shaven *inau*, libations and prayers at the fence of plenteous *inau* (text fig. 1, D).

776 A purely local *kamui*, known as the Kamui of Nai-oput (a neigh-
782 bouring valley) is interesting because he is said to be the spirit
184 ruler of Imosh Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 7). He also receives offerings

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778 [1] A similar one is used in the ceremony for Metot-ush Kamui in the ritual dismissal of the Bear.—N.G.M.

[P. 83]

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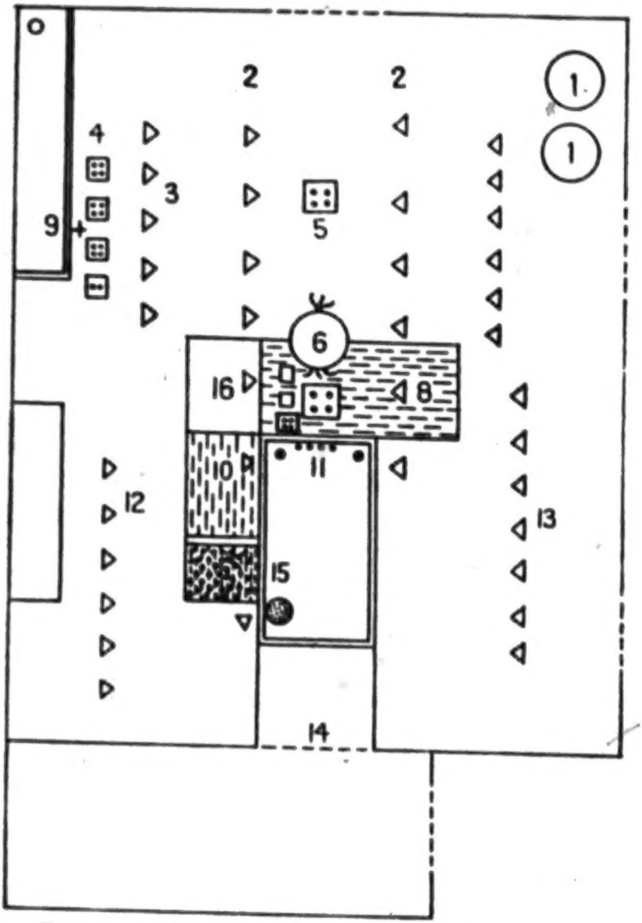

TEXT FIGURE 4.—*Chisei Nomi*: Preparation for the *Shinurapa Iwai* (Feast of All Souls, or Falling Tears).

2. Arrangement of *U-eshopki*—mutual sitting 'above the *inau-so*' (mat).
4. Food set apart from 15 for the *shinurapa* offering.
8. Honoured guest.
   Other numbers the same as fig. 3, p. 77.
   The cross at the top left, near 9, indicates the position of *chisei-koro inau* after its removal from its former position near the hearth.
15. Food placed at lower hearth as an offering to Kamui Fuchi and the ancestral host; it is also supposed to derive good influence from proximity to the gods.
16. Food removed from 15 to the head of the hearth for the common meal.

776 at the fence of the plenteous *inau*, but his *inau* is set up at the soul
782 *nusa* or at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

778 Hai-o-pira Kamui, the sword of the sword-fish, is also given
184 libation by many Ainu in this district. In the north an *inau* is set
up for him, but here he gets only thanks and beer.

Two more local spirits complete this list, though others are recognized and given the same consideration in neighbouring villages. These are Mopet-un Kamui, which is the name of a place, and Chikap-ohi-un Kamui, the name of a spot where a fabulous bird called *Furi* lived. This is supposed to have been a monstrous kind of eagle, elsewhere regarded as a man-eater, but here as friendly and helpful. In prayer these spirits are all called *Kamui Ekashi*, or divine ancestor; this may be evidence of ancestor-worship or merely of a wish to flatter them.

796 We now come to an important rite, the ritual salutation (*pase*
776 *ongami*) of Metot-ush Kamui, whose *ramat* is incarnated in the
778 bear. It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the
well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu
576 ceremonies.[1] In the plenteous *inau* fence are four large ancestral
782 *inau* specially devoted to this *kamui*, and two *inau* with bodies and
twisted shavings. All the *inau* at this fence are slightly higher than those at the soul *nusa* and that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and those again slightly higher than those of Nusa-koro Kamui. The reason for this is not clear; it does not indicate any intrinsic superiority of the *kamui* concerned, but the importance of the occasion, the ritual salutation.

For this rite the cup is filled to overflowing and the winged libation wand bearing the ancestral mark (*ekashi itokpa*) of the host is alone employed. The rite is performed publicly (*use ongami*) but with deep emotion, and forms the prelude to rites of a more secret character. I have been unable to get full information about these, but have been reliably told that at least four *kamui* are worshipped in secret at the second important salutation (*pase ongami*). These are Metot-ush Kamui again (but this time esoterically), the Eagle-owl, the 'Good Fox', and the Divine Wife, Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat (Woman above the clouds).

The Ainu, in this district at least, consider the special knowledge

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[1] Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933. (See Appendix II).—B.Z.S.

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and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is per- 776
mitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman 778
is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that 576
of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried
out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several 782
elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of 796
that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own 782
choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim 778
mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I 576
found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual 614
claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult [601]
address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of
formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is
more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer,
may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the [597]
rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for
an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on
the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed [273]
without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the [656]
brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only 796
moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach
of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of 782
drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The 273

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[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M. 576

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THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

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host holds out the cup to be filled, usually by his wife. He does not drink it, but raises it in salutation and passes it across to his *vis-à-vis* in the double row of male guests. The latter receives it, raises it in salutation, drinks from it and hands it to the man sitting next the host. He has it filled and follows the host's example. Thus the cup passes in zigzag fashion down the line. Two cups are used if the line is long. When one row has been served the other is served in the same way.

VIII

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

(*SHINURAPA*)

THIS FEAST is sometimes called *Pase Ongami* (great 574
ritual salutation), but is usually known as *Shinurapa*, 769
which may be translated as 'Falling Tears'. It is actually a
feast of All Souls—that is to say, it is a celebration in honour of the 776
kamui and the ancestors. Not only are the ancestors of the householder called upon but also those of all other members of the household. It always follows the ceremony of *Chisei Nomi*. Its details are worthy of record not only for themselves but for their correspondence in part with other forms of worship which suggest the existence of an ancestral cult. It is also important in that it is the only ceremony in which women hold direct communion with the kamui.[1]

We have seen that preparations are made beforehand for a feast. 574
Not only so, but part of the meal, that is the meat and vegetable 769
stew (*ohau*), is eaten before the great ritual salutation, and most of 776
the rest before the service to the dead. We may leave the question 782
whether the feast in its present form is not a fusion of two once [178]

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[1] Possession (*ituren*) might be regarded as an exception, and the employment
of women in beating out evil spirits in exorcism (*uhahih*) involves some trans- [787]
action with invisible powers. In none of these cases, however, do women actually
address such powers. The women work as assistants to the elders officiating. [562]
—N.G.M.

[789]

782 distinct celebrations.[1] What may seem anomalous is that a common
574 meal should be eaten before it is offered to the *kamui* and to the
769 spirits of the dead. But to treat these spirits with disrespect is the
last thing the Ainu would dream of doing, and the anomaly dis-
776 appears when we look into the matter more closely. The food is
[178] cooked by fire, that is to say by Kamui Fuchi, now called Abe
Kamui, and by her partner or other self, Iresu Kamui. Thus all the comestibles (I am not sure about the tobacco) are ritually offered to Kamui Fuchi before they are eaten. She represents the ancestral spirits, who are often spoken of as 'Those Dwelling Beneath the Hearth' (Abe-ra-un Kamui), and it is the Ainu belief that the good things set apart for the ceremony have already been offered to the Ancestral Host. To make assurance doubly sure, however, they are taken outside for service to those whose bodies have vanished underground.

[262] Reference has already been made to the types of food eaten at these feasts. Those now considered most appropriate are a stew of meat or fish with vegetables, dumplings or cakes of millet (*shto*), fish and fish roe, often with fat, and some wild fruits such as chestnuts. All foods are placed on trays, partly on the ashes of the hearth below the fire but not at the lowest end and partly on a sacred mat close to the hearth (text fig. 4 (15)); this is an act of ritual offering. Before the great ritual salutations the householder prays briefly to Kamui Fuchi for permission to take her food. After the trays have been laid for a short time near the head of the hearth, cups or bowls of the stew are handed to all the guests in turn. The women are served after the men, first the old women
sitting behind the housewife and then the younger ones on the
[273] opposite side (text fig. 3 (12 and 13)). Moderate drinking goes on but all should be quiet: *Kamui nomi teksam a more*—'At service to the gods respectful calm'.

769 The guests remain seated in order as before and preparations are
778 made for the ceremony. The *chisei-koro inau*[2] which has been stand-
ing on a large sacred mat (text fig. 3 (9)) is saluted by those
782 assembled and then removed to near the treasures by the north
574 wall, to which it will later be affixed. The old name for this pro-

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[1] The following account is local and is based on observation supplemented by information given by several of my teachers. I have omitted slight variations. —N.G.M.

[2] See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VI, p. 72.

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cedure, *inau etaye* (pulling up) recalls the time when houses had 778
an earthen floor into which it was stuck. Next, the householder or 782
an officiating relative offers two of the backward-shaven *inau* as a 574
burnt offering to Kamui Fuchi, giving her a ritual salutation in which he is joined by all the male guests. Not till after the feast is a burnt offering of food made.

The serving of the viands is called *isapte*, a word which has come to be used for the feast itself, properly called *Shinurapa iwai*.[1] All food served must either be eaten or be taken away by the guests in their clothes. Nothing must be left in sight. The explanation given is that Kamui Fuchi would be displeased if her bounty were not appreciated, and that the spirits of the dead like to see the good things disposed of.

When the meal is finished and all is cleared away, the food reserved for the service outside the house to the departed spirits is brought to the head of the hearth. Together with the trays of viands is one with a bundle or two of tobacco leaves. On another tray is an empty cup (*tuki*) with a libation wand and four backward-shaven *inau*.

The following is the order of the ceremony as performed in the 796
Saru district and, I am told, with little variation in others. The 769
householder or his deputy, wearing a white embroidered coat and 782
his ceremonial sword, salutes Kamui Fuchi and places on the edge [184]
of the fire, as a burnt offering, small pieces of the things to be given to the ancestral spirits outside. Out of reverence for Kamui Fuchi these offerings for the spirits of the dead are not put in the centre of the hearth. He then prays to her, using her name Iresu Kamui, saying that offerings of food and wine are about to be made outside, and asking her favour for the proceedings and for the house and all therein.

He then rises and goes to the opposite side of the hearth where a male relative hands him the tray with the empty cup, the libation wand and the backward-shaven *inau* upon it. It should be men- [415]
tioned that utensils used for this ceremony should be without any
Kind of decoration.

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[1] The word *iwai* is an ancient Japanese word, and may have been borrowed [192]
by the Ainu. But they tell me that it occurs in their old traditions and that they have no other word for what in England was called a wake. The Japanese word *kami* (deity) has been supposed to be the origin of the Ainu *kamui*, but the latter seems to be an ancient Ainu word. My belief is that such words indicate a closer connection between ancient Ainu and Japanese than has been realized. —N.G.M.

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769 kind of decoration. He waits till the women are ready with the
other trays and then a small procession moves to the entrance. First
782 goes the housewife carrying a vessel with a spout, filled with beer
drawn from one of the tubs. She is followed by her mother-in-law,
her mother, or an aunt, with a tray of 'moist' and 'dry' lees and
tobacco. Then come female relatives with the viands already mentioned,
and a young woman with an ordinary and a sacred mat, and
lastly the householder. All move very slowly, with bodies bent.

[576] On reaching the doorway each woman makes a salutation by
slightly swinging the tray which she holds with both hands, first
to the left then to the right and then upwards, while still stooping.
[776] She thus salutes the guardians of the doorway in the proper order.
[778] We have already seen that before the ceremony two beer-straining
winged *inau* had been set up for them and left there. This salutation
seems another indication that the spirits of the doorway are
778 linked with the ancestral cult. The procession moves slowly by the
796 north side of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*. Here elders of
769 high repute are known to have been buried, and the site, or rather
one a few feet to the north-west of it, is considered most appro-
782 priate for the ceremony. The young woman spreads an ordinary
mat and lays the sacred one upon it. The other women place their trays on the mat, leaving a space on the north for the householder. He sits down; his wife kneels beside him and the other women kneel in order. The householder offers prayers and leads the service, women not being allowed to address the *kamui*. No other man may approach the spot, and it may be regarded as a special service by the women. Sometimes many of them perform it in succession. The householder performs the ritual salutation, and the women perform their own reverent salutation (*raimik*). The householder then plants the four backward-shaven *inau* in a row from north to south. He gives them some drops of beer as a libation and then makes his first prayer to the ancestors, holding the cup with the libation wand pointing towards the *inau* and stroking it with his right hand. The prayer is long and of the usual type. He asks the ancestors for welfare in the new house, and that they will give and watch over many healthy children. He tells them that he is offering beer, tobacco, cakes, lees, etc., and prays that his halting and imperfect speech may be rendered more fitting by the libation wand as messenger of Iresu Kamui. Before the prayer is quite finished he pauses to give a few more drops of beer to the *inau*. After the

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796 769 782 [776]

prayer he drops a little on his headband and sword. He then drinks a sip and passes the cup to his wife. From a cup of heaped up lees moistened with beer he places a little on the 'mouth' of each *inau*, using the libation wand. In a short prayer he tells the spirits what he has done, after which he deposits tiny portions of the offerings on the ground near the *inau*. Lastly he makes a queer little speech, ostensibly to the ancestors, but generally regarded as intended for any evil spirits who might intrude. Before making the speech he takes some dry lees in his hand, and while and after speaking sprinkles them about. All the elders whom I questioned explained the practice by saying that it both deceives and placates envious spirits.

[576]

We saw that the householder, after taking a sip of beer, hands the cup to his wife. She swings it slightly upward, draws her right hand across her lip in salutation, and gives drops of beer to the four *inau* and the ground at their feet. She again swings the cup, salutes in the same way, takes a sip and hands the cup to the next woman. She and the other near female relatives do the same and the cup is returned to the householder, who may take another sip. He gives the cup to his wife and returns to the hearth. There a fresh cup is brought to him and he takes a couple of mouthfuls. He then makes a salutation, tells Kamui Fuchi that he has obeyed her command, takes one of the two remaining backward-shaven *inau* from the hearth and puts it in the fire. At this all the men make the ritual salutation. The last *inau* remains till the end of the festivities which follow the ceremony.

[273]

Meanwhile the women at the *nusa* continue the offerings to the ancestral spirits. When the householder leaves, his wife takes his place. When she receives the cup from him she may take another sip, but pours the rest of the contents on the ground. Now the cup is filled afresh for each woman. Ainu women drink little, and on occasions such as this each one takes a sip and pours the rest into a small receptacle (*shintoko-po*) for her husband to drink later on.

The housewife offers food and tobacco to the ancestral spirits, placing them on the ground near the inau, and afterwards sprinkles dry lees. There is no prayer, but a woman may call the name of a matrilineal ancestress should she choose to do so. A few near relatives of the housewife, perhaps four or five, take her place in turn and perform the same rite. Those who are less closely related

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796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into
the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects
of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but
the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
[789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
[776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating
them ensures health and longevity.

[184] At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is curious.

The Festivities

769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by
most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
782 quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
[776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given
a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having
performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired
by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told
that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded
in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main
services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intending to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
[778] Fuchi, and all present do the same.

The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in
[532] carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again
placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to
a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already
782 been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder throughout the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
887 (***sake-iush guru***, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a responsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

moderator during the revelry. He is therefore selected from among 769
the most respected elders in the village. A sword is brought to him 574
and he is led by the hand to his place. He salutes Kamui Fuchi, 782
and the householder salutes him, making a long speech of welcome 887
and thanks for taking care of the sacred beer, here called Tonoto
Kamui. During this speech they both rub their hands to and fro,
occasionally raising them slightly, and afterwards giving the full
ritual salutation. The controller (as we may call him) then salutes
Kamui Fuchi and prays to her at length for protection of the
new house and help to its inmates. He then addresses the householder, also at length, thanking him for his hospitality in the new
house, and expressing his best wishes and his confidence in the
solicitous guardianship of Iresu Kamui. After this both salute
respectfully.

The householder than takes the controller's hand and leads him
to the beer-container under the sacred window. After mutual [576]
salutation he again takes him by the hand and leads him to his seat
behind the container where, with his back to the wall, he faces the
room. Before sitting down he salutes Chisei-koro Kamui. The
householder sits facing him and asks a young male relative to
escort the various elders to their new positions in a double row
along the east wall, one row facing the other (text fig. 5(2) and
Pl. XVI, fig. 2). There are special titles for those sitting near the [554]
controller and host, but as they merely indicate position they can
be omitted. Each guest salutes Chisei-koro Kamui before sitting
down. The advantage of this arrangement is that it leaves room for
dancing. If male guests are very numerous extra rows may be
arranged, but the main rows along the wall constitute the proper
wassailing party (*Shi-iku u-eshopki*). When all are reseated the real 574
drinking begins, with excessive indulgence on the part of most. The 769
householder, whose proper title here is liquor-bestowing person
(*sake sange guru*), takes an empty cup, raises it and rubs it, all 273
present making salutation with their hands. This is the signal for
the housewife to fill the cup, which the householder hands to the
controller. The latter throws some drops of beer towards Chisei- [782]
koro Kamui with his libation wand, lays it on the rim of the cup
pointing towards Chisei-koro Kamui, and says a prayer of the
usual type requesting blessing and protection. Then he gives some
drops to his sword and headband, addressing a short prayer to
each, in which he affects to be ignorant of the proper manner of

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769 drinking and asks for protection. After this, beer is served cere-
273 monially (*iomare*) to each member of the two main rows, beginning
[782] with those nearest to the two chief functionaries. Each guest may
offer a libation to either Chisei-koro Kamui or Kamui Fuchi but
not to both; nor may they make prayers to them.

273 Next, the controller opens the ball with a song and dance. The
574 householder takes him gently by the hand, raises him, and leads
769 him to the front of the beer-container. His dance, which is called
535 *tapkara*, consists in lifting the feet and putting them down some-
887 times in the same place and sometimes to the front or side. This
is accompanied by a 'song without words', a chant of a subdued
[533] but musical kind. Different elders have their special chants, taught
them, it is said, by their ancestors. While dancing, the elder holds his arms up and wide apart, slightly bent at the elbows, and moves them a little to the side and up and down. He dances first facing the sacred window; this is for the *kamui* represented at the *inau*-fences outside. Then he moves to the north side and dances to Chisei-koro Kamui. Returning, he dances to the hearth and may dance a step or two towards the south before resuming his seat. The last is perfunctory but the general performance is obviously a ritual salutation to the benevolent dieties. Sometimes a woman of
[562] middle age or over, not his wife, follows close behind the elder,
imitating his steps and salutations, and two or even three women may do the same. Only women of the highest character can take part in this sacred performance. The householder leads the controller back to his seat.

It is customary at this stage of the proceedings, when the alcohol is beginning to make itself felt, to pay some attention to the mischievous spirit in the south-east corner. A salutation in that direction may serve to prevent unseemly behaviour.

Others may now take a turn on their own account, to their own
[558] vocal accompaniment. Although this dance and song (*sake-hau*)
might seem quite artless, it needs practice to acquire not only the
535 steps but the modulation of voice, trill and change of timbre.
273 Elders are quick to notice and despise a clumsy performance, and
574 some consider it an insult to the ancestral spirits, who in their
previous existence knew what dancing ought to be.

769 As the liquor mounts to heads, talking and singing become
[533] general. The confusion of sounds is aptly compared to 'the noise
of frogs at the beginning of summer'. The women, who seldom

[P.95]

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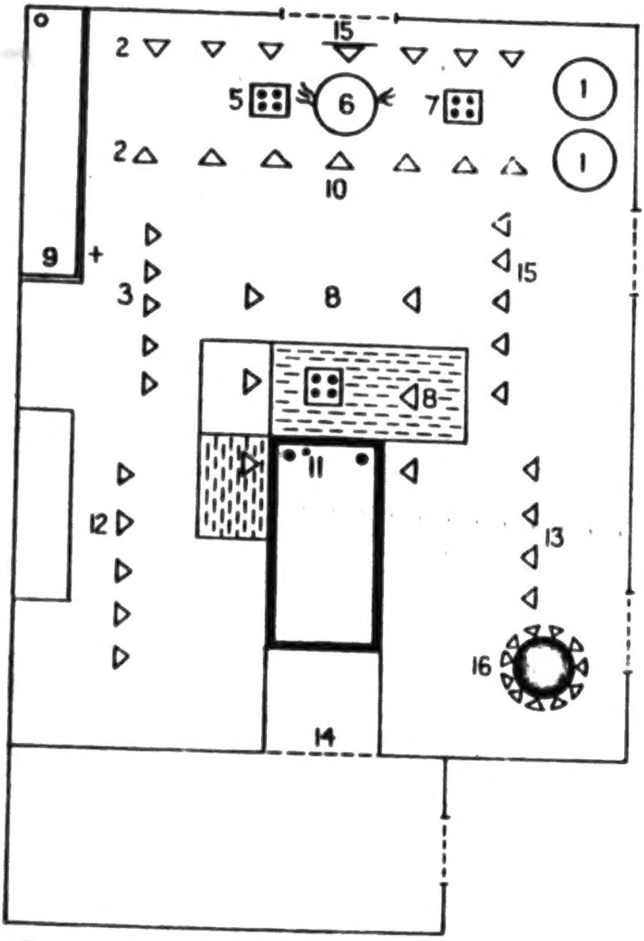

TEXT FIGURE 5.—Festivity after the *Shinurapa*: the *Shi-iku* (wassail) *U-eshopki* (mutual sitting).

2. Formation of the *shi-iku* (wassail or real drinking) *u-eshopki* (mutual sitting).
5, 7. Trays for food.
8. The two rows of a small *u-eshopki* at right angles to 2. The 8 on the mat is the position of the honoured guest in the *u-eshopki*.
10. Householder or deputy.
11. One backward-shaven *inau* left after the *shinurapa*.
15. Position of the *sake-iush guru* or wine controller.
16. Women sitting around the lid of a large *shintoko*, singing *upopo*, and tapping or beating it.

A.C.C.—H

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574 drink much, form a circle round the lid of a large beer-container
769 and have a good time singing *upopo*.[1] This is a kind of round or
[533] canon, a voice or voices starting to repeat the theme before it is finished while others carry it on. This anticipation of the fugue is very interesting. The women thoroughly enjoy themselves and some of the voices are beautiful. Their delight extends to the dance, both affording a change from the drudgery of life with freedom of emotional expression in the rhythm. The *upopo* is sometimes both song and dance, and other dances have sometimes a line or two of song or some syllables to aid vocalization. There is quite a repertoire of dances, and while *tapkara* go on at the upper end of the room the women and younger men may dance round dances (*rimse*) round the lid of the beer-container and eventually round the hearth. The round dance is always danced sun-wise; it is wrong and unlucky to dance in the opposite direction. It is not only the young who take part in the dancing round the fire; one may see men and women of 70 or 80 taking part with evident enjoyment. Dancing may go on till the small hours of the morning
796 but the crowd has thinned out before then.

769 Towards the end of the proceedings there are some ceremonial
574 observances. One is raising the beer-container (*uko shintoko raye*).
273 The contents of the large container are mostly poured into a smaller
887 one, which is raised by a young man and presented to the controller. He takes two bunches of twisted shavings, whirls them round in the vessel from right to left and then winds them round his neck or ties them to his headband. He changes place with the householder, takes an almost empty cup and points a libation wand with a few drops of beer on it in the direction of the mischievous spirit, to which he makes a hypocritical address. He then pretends to drink up the contents of the empty cup. With a cup filled by
[782] the housewife he then offers a libation to Chisei-koro Kamui, uttering a long prayer of thanks and repeated request to guard the house and promote the welfare of all therein now and in the future. He does not drink from this cup but gives it to the householder, and the process of passing drink along the rows continues. Formerly

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[1] Many *upopo* consist of a single phrase; some contain several, but the sense is seldom fully apparent. An example is *chupka wa kamui ran wa nitek ka ereu, iwai atui isam ko tanne mau turi*. This may be translated, I hope not too freely: 'From the east the god descends, alighting on the tree-tops. From the shore a zephyr reaches out along the many seas.' The word I have translated as 'many', *iwai*, means 'six', but I think it may be so rendered.—N.G.M.

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Formerly the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also 769
dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today. 574

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who
remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that 769
before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of 535
the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. 574
It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at 796
the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukrekguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in
this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances [825]
in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *tapkara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the 574
north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the 769
sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, [778]
the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden 574
times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the 538
sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on
the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the 769
past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

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538 small group intensely absorbed, and they have departed reluctantly
well on in the forenoon. Nowadays, however, the Ainu are learning
769 Japanese and forgetting their own tongue, and a decade hence
[177] these ancient tales, recited in the archaic rhythm that enhances
their dramatic quality, will be heard no more.

IX

EXORCISM

(*UEPOTARA*)

THE various classes of *kamui* were described in Chapters I and II, and it was noted that though the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* are generally beneficent, yet they are apt to resent disrespect or neglect of offerings. Reverence is necessary in soliciting their help; and accident, disease or other misfortune may befall those who neglect them, or who neglect a custom or infringe a taboo. Thus, serious illness is usually attributed to the action of some *kamui*, or to possession by evil spirits, when the victim becomes 'tied up'. 776 [782] [626] [753]

When there is ordinary sickness the Ainu have a choice of many herbs, some reputed to heal particular diseases and a few magically efficacious against several. But where there is serious illness, whether of mind or body, the older folk are quick to suspect the action of a cantankerous or malignant spirit.[1] Purification is necessary for the expulsion of such spirits, or their influence, from humans, places or things. *Epiru*, the general word for purification, is not used for human beings; for them *ukakik* (striking upon) or *kashikik* (striking from above downwards) are the words in general use; these terms are never used for places or things. 753 755 [757] [192]

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[1] The causes of disease were believed to be as follows:

(*a*) The work of an evil deity (*wen kamui*) or a stubborn deity (*nitue kamui*).
(*b*) The influence of the evil spirits of sterile women (whether living or dead was not ascertained).
(*c*) Retribution for the sinful acts of ancestors.
(*d*) The action of symbiotic worms in the abdomen.
(*e*) The result of curses by someone with a grudge against the sufferer. [754]
(*f*) Possession by some spirit.—H.W.

EXORCISM

755 Here we are chiefly concerned with proceedings intended to
repel or expel evil spirits threatening or inflicting serious maladies.
In the case of difficult childbirth or any grave malady members of
the village throng the dwelling, the elders busy with magico-
[789] religious expedients, while all express sympathy with the sufferers.
I am told that in desperate cases old and reeking garments are
[822] waved to drive away evil spirits, and that the accumulated *Ainu
rak*, the odour of the unwashed, helps to repel them.

A public manifestation of sympathy and helpfulness, *ukaobiuki*,
796 characteristic of the Ainu, is a dancing procession called *niwen-
789 horipa*. When there is some untoward or tragic happening such as
731 a death by accident or the burning of a house, the important *kamui*
are invoked and a procession is formed and moves towards the spot,
535 the men in front carrying swords, the women walking behind. At each step the men alternately stretch and bend the arm, holding the sword vertically, and call out 'wo-o-o pfui!' The women also stretch the right arm forward and bend it, exclaiming 'fusa!' The sufferers await the procession, and when it arrives at the place of the affliction it is usual to march round it three times, the men striking out with their swords. Then a double line is formed with the sufferers in one rank and sympathetic visitors in another, and the procession moves up to a small *nusa* where short prayers are said. The sufferers are then cleared of any evil influence that may remain, by being stroked from above downwards with the swords. Individual greetings and condolences are then said. Although the *niwen horipa* is fading out in the north where the Ainu population is sparse, in the south groups of Ainu often come many miles to take part in the ceremony and sympathize with the sufferers.

755 The word *uepotara*, which I have rendered 'exorcism', but which
according to Batchelor implies 'solicitude', is applied in practice to
a combination of measures used in the treatment of the sick. In the
first example to be given a whole battery is brought to bear upon
[115] the patient. I was first told of it by Kotanpira Ekashi, perhaps my
best informant, but I saw it in 1933 and again about a year later.
[114] The account given of this, and the following example, is recorded
from the method employed by Isonoash Ekashi, who, though less learned, is well accustomed to these rituals. His prayers and invocations are less classical than those of my other informants, but those I have translated have been approved by independent Ainu to whom I recited them.

EXORCISM

The preliminary service at the house is much the same for all 755
uepotara, the chief difference being in the name of the evil spirit [776]
to be overcome. In the one I shall describe it was Pauchi Kamui,
who is usually held responsible for insanity or violent hysteria. He [786]
is notorious as the instigator of epidemics of frenzied dancing. The [173]
account of a serious outbreak of dancing mania,[1] which occurred
about two centuries ago, was related to me by several elders, as it
had been passed down to them by their ancestors.

As in all ceremonies, Kamui Fuchi is first approached; she is told 755
of the trouble and her help is besought. Next, Mintara-koro Kamui
and Ru-koro Kamui, the spirits of the yard and the privy, are in- 776
voked, as well as Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau- 778
uk Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, at their respective *nusa*. Then
elaborate preparations are made by the river: first, a backward- 782
shaven *inau* is inserted for Mintuchi Kamui, a freshwater nymph,
and upstream from it six groups of four-winged *inau* are set up in
the water at the river's edge. These are made of alder and are about
eight inches high. The *inau* furthest upstream, the chief, is taller
than the others, and has some distinguishing mark, sometimes a
piece of wood tied to it to represent a sword, in this case a piece of
cloth. They are called evil *inau* because they repel evil, or abnormal
(*shinnai*) *inau*. These *inau* are made of elder and only have four
wings, in distinction to other winged *inau*, which may have from
six to nine. They are set at an angle so that they point towards the
river. The next *inau* upstream from the chief is a backward-shaven
one for Chiu ra-pe Mat, the female spirit of the undercurrent.
Then comes the *nusa* of the three great Ainu *kamui*; its winged
inau are made of willow. At the lower end of this *nusa* a sword is
hung for the officiating *ekashi*; it is said to act as a messenger from
Kamui Fuchi. At the upper end there is a backward-shaven *inau*
for Chiu ra-pe Guru, the male spirit of the undercurrent. Six
Houses of Evil are set up at short intervals, in a line, at a right
angle to the river's edge. These are reed arches, about four feet
high, with some hollow-stemmed *Polygonum sachalinensis* (*kuttara*) [824]
tied to the apex. Hollow stems of this plant are also used as traps
to catch ghosts and spirits of pestilence; small boats are made of
them to provide spirits with a means of return to their abode after
they have been invoked in a rite. Here they serve as an exit for
Pauchi Kamui when the arches are set on fire. On either side of

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[1] See Appendix, p. 160.

755 each arch a *takusa* (a bunch of grass, reeds and other herbs, suitable
776 for *ukakik*) is laid. Two similar bunches are put beside each of the
778 groups of *inau* along the riverside. Beside the *nusa* for the *pase*
782 *kamui* two *takusa* are laid, made of an evergreen bamboo called
[824] *huttat*. All these are switches which will be used to purify the
patient. Six water-worn stones are put near the backward-shaven
inau for Chiu ra-pe Mat.

755 The ritual is a combination of prayer and of purification by fire,
782 by brushing and stroking with switches of grasses or herbs, with
river stones and with a sword, and by lustration with water. Insane
persons, considered incurable, used to be dipped in the river, as I
learn from elders who have tried this form of purification. Psychological troubles brought on by Pauchi Kamui are regarded as diffi-
[791] cult to cure. When a female medium (*tusu*) possessed (*ituren*) by
her familiar spirit pronounces Pauchi Kamui to be the evil spirit
responsible for the disorder, a stiff fight is expected, and all resources are employed.

When the preparations are complete, the proceedings do not take long. After salutation and prayer to the water nymph, Mintuchi Kamui, the *ekashi* addresses the female spirit of the undercurrent in the same way, and afterwards the male spirit of the undercurrent. Salutations and prayers are made to all the *kamui* at their respective places, described above, and also to the chief of the 'evil' *inau*. The first arch, furthest away from the river, is set on fire, and the patient passes under it. When she has done so she is beaten six times by two women who strike her with switches of strong grass or some other herb such as *shinkep* (*Lespedeza bicolor*). This is repeated at the five other arches. At each stroke the women call softly '*fusa!*' or '*fsa!*' as a signal of expulsion.

[783] The patient then undergoes further purification at each of the six groups of *inau* along the riverside. Two women each pick up a switch, dip it in the river, beat the patient and afterwards throw the switches in the river to carry away the contagion.

755 In the next procedure, which is used as a means of getting rid of ailments, especially defects of vision, the patient stands beside the backward-shaven *inau* of the female spirit of the undercurrent (Chiu ra-pe Mat). The two women take a stone in each hand and strike them together to warn the evil spirits that the spirit of the waters is about to act. The patient is stroked with the stones by

the two women down the sides and front. There being six stones, one of the women takes the last two and repeats the process. The stones are then thrown into the river. 755

The next rite at the riverside takes place by the *nusa* of the *pase kamui* and the backward-shaven *inau* of Chiu ra-pe Guru. The sword which hangs on the *nusa* fence had been laid on the hearth in the preliminary service in the house. Kamui Fuchi had been asked to let it represent her outside, since she cannot leave the house. It is now flourished by the elder as mandatory of the supreme ancestress. Chiu ra-pe Guru is believed to be thus stimulated to action. The *huttat* switches here, which are held in high esteem, are dipped in water. Before this purification the elder makes prayer to Chiu ra-pe Guru in his capacity as representative of Wakka-ush Kamui. He moves his arm with the sword held vertically, calling out, or rather blowing out, '*fuo!*' or '*fu!*', stretching his arm forward and bending it while continuing his prayer. During the purification he keeps the sword upright, continuing his '*fuo!*' while the officiating women mutter '*fusa!*'. Each woman gives the patient six strokes with her evergreen switch. The patient's outer garment is next removed, shaken and laid aside. Formerly the oldest garment was used and then thrown into the river, but the Ainu are now so poor that even much worn clothes are seldom discarded. The former injunction—'*Ika ami amip use a-ana na*', meaning that the garment shed with the evil magic must not be worn again—is no longer strictly followed. [778] [782] [783] [735] [182]

The patient and the officiating women now wash their faces and pour water on their heads. The water is holy, pervaded by the influence of the good spirit of living waters. Such ceremonial ablution or baptism is thus specially efficacious; water is used ritually on other occasions, such as after childbirth and funerals, as it is elsewhere. [778]

On returning home there is a final ceremony, which I missed, as Isonoash had said that the *uepotara*, by which he meant the ceremony at the river, was ended. Nevertheless it deserves mention. The patient dons the old garment and in it receives a final purification while the spirit guardians of the precincts take action against further invasion. Three backward-shaven *inau* are set up, one each for Ru-koro Kamui, Mintara-koro Kamui and Nusa-koro Kamui. Purification is done at the *inau* of Ru-koro Kamui with an ordinary switch, and then, at the place of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle [114] [783] [778]

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[778] (*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, [783] this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up [782] outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

755 801 It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

755 The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge [115] and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

[787] In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, [791] defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of [126] a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

755 753 [114] Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

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[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in 775
great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, 753
seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits
are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering
ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the
question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible
for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of
disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the
dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they
mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which
they have died.

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyses of women, are attributed [158]
to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful
snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill [776]
them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead [825]
the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to
snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. [787]
Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the
work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical.
There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi 755
for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in
case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*)
purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to
that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification
by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is [782]
couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed
spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram koro*)
with good *kamui*.

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when 755
the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as
much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with 782
the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower
end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention
is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad
vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in
itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction.
Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted.
After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau*
dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return
from the river.

EXORCISM

755 The rite which follows is the tree (*chikuni*) *uepotara*. As performed
782 by Isonoash, three trees are chosen; oaks are preferred but
824 other 'good' trees may be used. The elder prays to the spirits of
two trees, each of which is given a backward-shaven *inau* and two
bunches of curled shavings. The latter are fixed in the bark of the
trees. The invocations are short; in them he intimates that he is
about to approach the third tree, regarded as their superior, and
[778] solicits their aid in expelling the disembodied spirit. The third tree
is given four-winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* and the
prayer is more elaborate. The principal spirit is addressed as
Shiramba Kamui or Shiri-koro Kamui, but three tree spirits are
here distinguished, one of the root, one of the trunk and another
of the top branches. These are called respectively Chinosa-yushi,
Kohosup-kari and Komkissara-koro guru, the last being the 'possessor
of the leafy ears'. The elder then prays directly to Shiramba
Kamui on behalf of the sufferer at the soul *nusa* which has been
erected under the tree. On the fence of this *nusa* a sword has been
hung, and switches of *huttat* have been placed on the ground.

755 Purification begins at the first tree, where four switches of grass
783 and small branches are lying, two on each side. Two women
officiants stand one on each side. The patient is purified with a
switch by one woman; goes round the tree where she is purified
by the other; returns to her first position and then proceeds to the
second tree, where the process is repeated. At the third tree the
patient goes round six times, being purified by one of the women
[778] at each half round. Finally, at the soul *nusa*, she is purified with a
switch of bamboo grass, the elder finishing by flourishing the sword
[824] which has been hanging there in readiness.

On returning to the precincts of the house, the patient is taken
755 near the privy. The two women take some of the millet stalks, or
783 the fishbones, in their hands, and stroke the patient with them
778 down the front. The idea is to entice the disembodied spirit to
come out; there is also some idea of expulsion as the women make
the usual *fusa fusa* sound.

Between the privy and the place of Mintara-koro Kamui have been set up six sets of evil *inau* with their leader, just as in the river *uepotara*, except that they are made of alder instead of elder. At each of these sets the patient is purified by the two women with ordinary switches. Before moving to the next set the women each pull up two *inau* and with one in each hand make the *fusa fusa*

sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of 755
Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both 783
shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui 778
Puchi purification.

Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described 755
are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes re- 752
sorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with
the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or [158]
over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by
purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these [783]
exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*)
is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described.

When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, 755
a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the [787]
elder prays there also. [825]

It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to
be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were [753]
believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by [754]
other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort.

Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purifica- 158
tion by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient 755
was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer [178]
practised,

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755 practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated
[753] with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated
as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at
the river, is similar to that described for Pauchi Kamui, except
that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of
kuttara, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into
one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set
[824] afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six
pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation
of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the
pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

753 Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are
755 treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neuralgias,
825 functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought
to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases
158 of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by
magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important
feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement
of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When
one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or
dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her
trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women
know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can
control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition
known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.[1] The condition is
characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation
of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite
of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion
to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when
the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake
or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile
and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal
housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women.
[522] On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than
otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing
[782] as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake
out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, invokes
[778] into it the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown
nusa. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

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[1] See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

the tail to sweep her body and purify it.[1] (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) 753 755
It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I 825
learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place 158
after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the
elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the [778]
patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. [787]
The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and [791]
if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).[2]

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account 755
not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of 776
the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is 825
thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said
to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when
its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed
a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to [777]
have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though
in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit
helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and
losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. [753]
This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the
proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar
features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the
approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then [778]
a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred
shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on
the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are [783]
made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is
laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

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[1] For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.

[2] See Appendix, p. 163.

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776 of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have
825 a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in
[778] other exorcisms.

The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering
755 allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is
782 asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is
825 expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and
mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided
for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven
inau is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no
prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of
the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient
from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which
the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after
each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled
shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now
passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet
spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-
[783] koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning
home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her
hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants
did this also, but now they do not.

787 Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet;
825 they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One re-
spected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-
776 pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as
harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

755 In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-
776 thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous
spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as
782 spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice
when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked
and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village;
this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in
snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above,
but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of
disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As pro-
tector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as
755 Pu-epungine Kamui.

844 I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

in childbirth, and there are doubtless more. The following typical methods are practised. A second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and there Uari Kamui takes charge on behalf of Kamui Fuchi, for the purity of the latter must not be sullied, however deep her concern. The 'important' *kamui* are invoked and supplicated, especially Wakka-ush Kamui. Should there be any sign of difficulty Kinashut Kamui is summoned and then the mortar with its pestle is requisitioned. Having been washed and ritually purified at the seat of Ru-koro Kamui it is tilted to and fro so that it moves into the house, all the time being rhythmically beaten with the pestle. This rhythm is continued by the side of the patient and the pestle is waved above her head and over her body to drive away evil spirits. As the hours pass without bringing relief, the remedies become more desperate. One is to summon the spirit of a fresh-water crab and to urge it to save the mother's life by extracting the baby with its 'metal' claws, even if the baby has to die. The last resource is to give her the urine of her husband to drink or some diluted excrement from the privy. The elder who prepares it must taste it first. It makes her vomit and so ejects the evil spirit.

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X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

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224 BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing
226 were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection
and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and
[782] the three other *'pase' kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui
and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing
[825] expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one
of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*,
often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter
invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*).
[774] The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust
in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them
temporarily.

411 The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody
789 considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a
774 libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a
224 means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under
[422] the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick
[211] was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally
stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to
the quiver.

825 If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as
782 distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide
224 meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to
save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

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offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set 224
up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid. [782]

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter 825
to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. 224
When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance 789
he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder
pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. 198
Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, [611]
was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To [688]
utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh 776
sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian 224

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[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S. [754]

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses.
She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'.
Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the
hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game,
the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire,
craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from
hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called
true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the
[755] approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity,
the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine
(*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's
head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with
782 offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear
Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less
elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull
was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
ritually.

784
263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

Hunting the Swordfish

226

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and
not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it
early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry between
[477] the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger,
for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword
through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the
crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other
hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or *ikema*) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam katkimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building. 226 782 789 [784] [192]

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise. [262]

Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*. 396 789 782

While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.[1] A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for [778]

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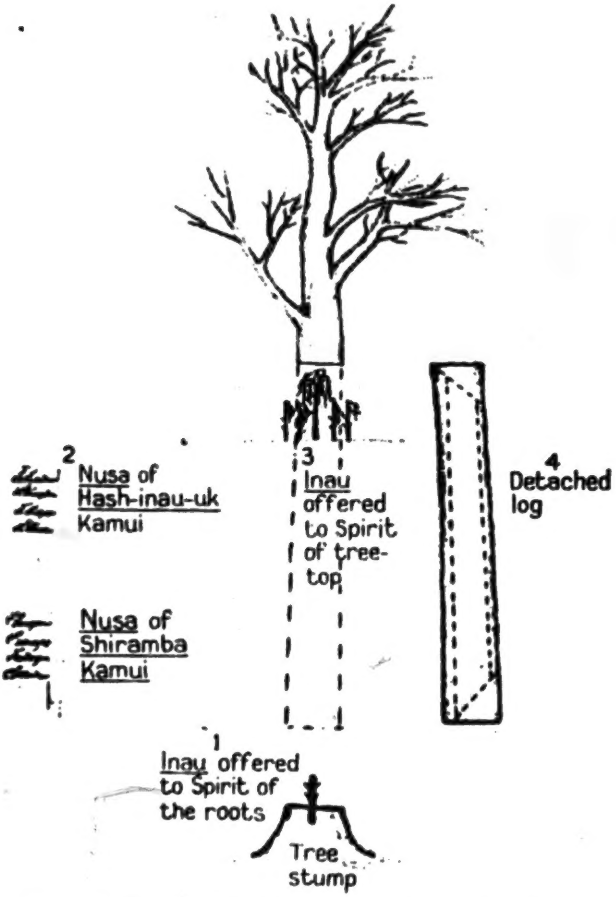
[1] According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

396 Shiramba Kamui and a similar one for Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
789 These *nusa* were made to face east if possible. A prayer was said to
782 Shiramba Kamui in which the village and its nearest valley were
778 named as a means of identification. The top of the tree was given
ritual dismissal (*iwakte*) and another prayer to Shiramba Kamui
was followed by a shorter one to Hash-inau-uk Kamui (text fig. 6).


2
Nusa of Hash-inau-uk Kamui
3
Inau offered to Spirit of tree-top
4
Detached log
Nusa of Shiramba Kamui
1
Inau offered to Spirit of the roots
Tree stump

TEXT FIGURE 6.—Tree-cutting rite before cutting a log for a dug-out canoe.

VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log 396 (*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready 782 to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern. Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged [778] *inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*).

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming sound 534 and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a 789 spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for [821] hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar [224] object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly [531] circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description.

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the 825 ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of 789 a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *tapkara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur.

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical 304 rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil 789 influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it

304 [789] does not seem out of place here. The leading motive actuating
women who performed and underwent a long series of far from
painless operations was that tattooing, of the lips at least, was an
essential preliminary to marriage. It was usual to begin the process
at or before puberty on a spot on the upper lip, and to extend it
gradually, the lips being usually finished by about the age of
18. Arms were often finished at about 20 and the hands later,
sometimes after marriage. Arms and hands were supposed to
[836] be finished before the birth of the first child. Pre-marital sexual
relations were strictly prohibited, and the completion of the tattoo-
[881] ing indicated that a girl was ready for marriage and motherhood.
It does not appear that the change was marked by any rite.[1]

But though tattooing (*manoko shiri uoshmari*) had not within
[773] living memory been backed by any religious observance, its use
was warranted by myth attributing its origin to a supernatural
being, either Kamui Fuchi or A-e-oina Kamui. There are also
mythical tales relating how knowledge of it was received or stolen
from the Koropok-un-guru.

[824] In preparation for tattooing, bark of the ash-tree (*iwa-ni*) or
sometimes the spindle-wood (*komke-ni*) was cut into small pieces
[386] and boiled, producing an infusion of a dark greenish colour. This
did not affect the colour of the tattooing, which was done with
soot (*pash*) from birch bark. The bark was lighted under the pot
and it deposited a fine soot (*supash*). The infusion (*nire*) was
applied three times, before the incisions, immediately after and
when the soot had been lightly rubbed in. It was supposed to be
healing and perhaps also to fix the pigment.

The operator did not copy from a pattern, nor did she first paint
the design on the skin. She began with tiny incisions and extended
them in repeated operations. Tekatte Fuchi says that the tattooing
of face and forearms could be completed in about two years, but
that forearms were usually done at intervals extending up to ten
[622] years. The daughter of a chief was supposed to finish earlier, either
[554] to set an example or to exert a magical influence on the welfare of
the village.

[412] It is many years since obsidian flakes were used, though their use probably outlasted the general neolithic culture. More recently a small knife with a razor edge has been employed. Blood was

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[174] [1] From this it would appear that there was a long period between puberty and marriage but Munro has given no further information.—B.Z.S.

Blood war

partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell. 304 [757] [789]

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible. [841] [262] [784]

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near. [832] [517]

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip. [184]

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery 278 776 [192]

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[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

278 [776] and is also called Iso-uk Kamui (game-taking) and Kamui Pase Guru (potent person). But Iso-sange Mat (game bringing-down female) is a title of Hash-inau-uk Kamui as goddess of the chase; I am told that this title is not used in prayer.

[184] In the Saru district, though aconite grows in the wilds, the favourite source was a stretch of open land near Piratori. When permission had been obtained Kamui Fuchi was besought, and [221] about the middle of September promising plants were selected. It was said that if they were gathered earlier the millet would not ripen, and a fine was imposed on the gatherer. At the place of [782] gathering, *inau* of the usual number and kind were set up for Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, who were prayed to for poison of good quality and successful results. The roots were wrapped in mugwort and hung up to dry in the rafters.

757 755 A kind of swallow-wort, *Cynanchum caudatum*, known as *penup* or *ikema*, besides being used to make Penup Kamui, is sometimes taken by sufferers from acute indigestion, whether this is attributed to an attack by Pauchi Kamui or to some material poison. Taken in a large quantity it is said to cause vomiting and diarrhoea, and such elimination may account for its non-lethal results. However, if poisoning is diagnosed, vomiting is encouraged by giving salt, if obtainable, in strong solution, and by a physical treatment that is usually effective. The round wooden mortar is laid on its side and the patient laid across, with his head low, while one person holds him in position and two others roll the mortar to and fro. They keep chanting '*penup tambu, he mawe*; *he mawe, he ashin*', which means 'pluck out *penup*; magic, go outside'. In cases of aconite poisoning the treatment is similar but more desperate in one [782] respect. In both, Kamui Fuchi is asked to bless the treatment, but in this case Ru-koro Kamui is invoked, the patient is taken to the hearth and is compelled to swallow a mixture of water and faeces after the elder has tasted it (or pretended to). This is said to be a good emetic, which is likely enough. The patient is also rolled on the mortar, the formula being '*Topochi Kamui, he mawe, he ashin*'. *Topochi* has various meanings, but here it means aconite poison. It is said that some renowned *ekashi* had been able to eat aconite with impunity.

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[776] the solicitation of Monorushi Kamui, and he supervised on the spot all collec- [278] tion of aconite. Each aconite plant was believed to be an incarnation of Suruk Kamui.—H.W. (Watanabe, *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 262.)

XI

DEATH AND BURIAL

THE SPIRITS of the virtuous dead go to the Underworld, 775
but those of evil persons suffer in the Wet Underworld
(*Teine Pokna Moshiri*).[1] There is only a limited belief in
reincarnation; a few exceptionally good and gifted men are said
to be granted rebirth, and an infant dying unweaned remains in
the care of Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn in the womb of its
mother.[2] Except in the case of old people who have lived a full life
and left descendants, death is believed to be due not to natural
causes but to the action of evil spirits. Kamui Fuchi and the other [776]
kamui whose protection is sought throughout life are not blamed [761]
for death.

When a sick person is delirious, with staring eyes, plucking 763
fingers or clenched hands, the presence of an evil spirit is suspected
and purification is performed. When the sufferer becomes unconscious,
an elder would say a prayer to Kamui Fuchi. This, the [782]
'self word last said' (*yai ye kesui itak*) may represent a prayer by,
as much as for, the dying.

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[1] The spirit of a deceased person arrives first at a spot in the Underworld (*Pokna Moshiri*) where the road forks. One fork leads to the village of the deities (*Kamui Kotan*), the destination of the good, and the other to the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*), the destination of the bad. The spirit is led to one of these two by a dog which is under the direction of Kamui Fuchi (Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*, London, 1901, and *Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol 2, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Munro states that the Ainu did not believe sexual intercourse to be the direct cause of pregnancy, but that it opened the door to the return of a departed soul. However, if such a belief were general it would be in contradistinction to the statement above, that only certain exceptional people experienced reincarnation. It is probable that either or both beliefs were held partially.—B.Z.S. [842]

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders
of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally
'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1]
of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the
two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human
behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat*
to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes
from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when
awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from
a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or
another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go
forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
[828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to
arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be manifested
762 in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism
were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
787 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro
753 Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action
of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which
had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the
dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[766] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau*
kamui, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near
the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the
spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

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[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites
observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, 764
but so far as I can learn they are slight. 184

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially 764
requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is 178
much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are
believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, 262
and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in [177]
the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to
bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase
of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at [271]
funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a
village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for [273]
the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa*
for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground
and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies [256]
young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an
elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers [533]
the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different
from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals.

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has 764
eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need 262
of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food.
Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to [774]
the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the
bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a [782]
single chopstick set up in the middle.

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is 764
laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food 264
from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with
their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are [177]

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[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed [178]
by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his [593]
deceased wife.—N.G.M.

764 [264] [177] provided for them. These are commonly of the cane-like reed, *shiki*,[1] and are discarded after the funeral. For funerals the normal manner of cutting these chopsticks is reversed.

Family Mourning

[203] Within an hour of the apparent cessation of life the near relatives and sometimes close friends are summoned. A little later the news is carried near and far by messengers. This news is known as 'telling bad news' (*assurani* or *assuru-tasa*), and the usual title for a messenger (*shongo*) is changed to 'person with bad news' (*assuru-koro-guru*). At Mokoto in the north the body is not dressed till near kinsfolk who may live far away have arrived; if there is stench from decay, sulphur is burnt. At Nibutani the body is dressed after the first family mourning.

Before the body is dressed only near relatives and an intimate friend or two are allowed to see it, and these are said to share with the deceased a feeling for which there is a curious phrase, *uko-yai-buri-anno*, which means 'mutual embarrassment'. The living have, besides their grief, an uncanny feeling at seeing the cold stillness of death, and the deceased is supposed to feel embarrassment at being unable to rise and greet his relatives and friends. [195] The corpse, when dressed but before its final wrapping, is known as *pone*, but in prayer to Kamui Fuchi it is called *nupe-po*, the lamented, and this title is used when speaking to relatives of the recently dead.

782 764 When the fact of death is certain, an elder, usually one of the family, prays to Kamui Fuchi, asking her to take care of the liberated soul and to afford protection during the ceremonies. Before praying he attracts her attention by gently drawing a live ember from the hearth. Before and sometimes during the prayer he exclaims '*fuo*', a call for spirit attention. He then kneels at the head of the corpse and bows over it with his palms on the floor. He again exclaims '*fuo*', sighs and addresses the dead. His speech [537] is called *pone ewe homsu*,[2] sorrowing over the dead body, and in it

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[1] *Miscanthus*. For ordinary use they are cut so that the knots are regularly spaced with one at the top; for funeral use the knots should be irregularly spaced. —H.W.

[2] *Homsu* or *homshu* has various meanings, but here implies condolence or sympathy. This talk to the dead person with the mouth close to his ear, as I have sometimes seen it, varies in tone and content according to at least eleven conditions of the deceased, including sex and age.—N.G.M.

he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps 764 [782]
with the rest of the company.

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them [537]
copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell [152]
and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy.
Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and
all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, [533]
how dreadful'. Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced,
but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called
uko-noyoize, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting
in a natural harmony is very beautiful.

Preparing the Body

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is [775]
dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It
is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all
anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is
strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had
been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of
living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we [291]
shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past
may be wiped out.

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending
to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister,
mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be
assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed [292]
to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without
which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. [775]
The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be
buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's
corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them
a father's brother does this.

In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made 764
and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and 291
for some centuries before the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and
perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained [439]
by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the
Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and
caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house

764 by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore
291 the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a
[688] terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to
his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a
[531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made
[287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur;
[177] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly
[531] cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of
[286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

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[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shianbappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica takeda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *ot-ani-ni* (cf. Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

[P. 127]

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764
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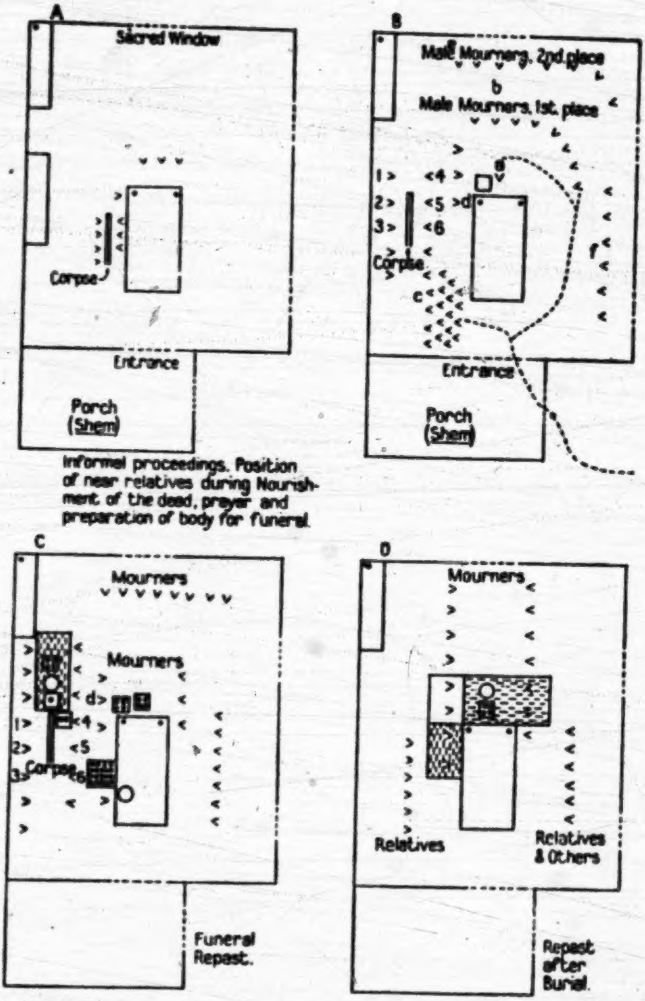
A
Sacred Window
Corpse
Entrance
Porch
(Shem)
Informal proceedings. Position of near relatives during Nourishment of the dead, prayer and preparation of body for funeral.
B
Male Mourners, 2nd place
b
Male Mourners, 1st. place
a
1 >
2 >
3 >
<4 >
<5 >d
<6
Corpse
c
f
Entrance
Porch
(Shem)
C
Mourners
Mourners
d>
1>
2>
3>
<4
<5
<6
Corpse
Funeral Repast.
D
Mourners
Relatives
Relatives & Others
Repast after Burial.

TEXT FIGURE 7.—Order of Mourners in the Home of the Dead.

A. Informal proceedings. Position of near relatives during the nourishment of the dead, prayer and preparation of the body for the funeral.
B. Arrival of guests.
C. Funeral repast.
D. Repast after burial.

A.C.C.—K

DEATH AND BURIAL

Social Mourning

764 [115] The following account is based on information given by six elders and some elderly women, supplemented by my excellent informant Nesukrek-guru and my own limited observation. The mourners enter softly and slowly, the men advancing with bodies bowed down, hands hanging in front to or below the level of the knees. The women steal in meekly, stooping even lower. The body has been dressed and adorned, that of a man with a sword, a woman with a necklace. The near relatives sit beside the body in proper order. This varies with the status of the deceased, and during the proceedings a relative may for a time yield a place of honour to another or to a close friend, but the diagram (text fig. 7 B) shows the order generally preserved. There may be a number of near relatives ranged on either side of the corpse, but six have special
764 602 importance. None of these sits at the head, which is kept for those who go in turn to weep their last farewell. No. 1 is the chief mourner but No. 4 occupies the seat of honour.

If the deceased is an elder or householder, No. 1 is the oldest son available, and failing him a brother, the elder always having preference. No. 2 is a sister, or if none available a daughter. No. 3 is the widow, or failing her a sister. These are called *ram-koro-guru* (heart-having). No. 4 is a brother, or if none a sister. Nos. 5 and 6 are sisters or close female relatives.

If the deceased is the wife of an elder or householder No. 1 is her husband or if dead a son. No. 2 is the mother, her sister or the deceased's sister. No. 3 is a sister; No. 4 a brother; Nos. 5 and 6 near female relatives.

If the deceased is an unmarried man No. 1 is his father or father's brother. No. 2 is his father's mother or mother's sister. No. 3 is the mother,[1] or her sister. No. 4 is the father's father or failing him father's brother. No. 5 is the father's sister and No. 6 the mother's sister.

If the deceased is an unmarried woman No. 1 is her father, or his brother or failing him the mother's brother. No. 2 is the mother's mother or her sister. No. 3 is the mother, or her sister.

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[595] *of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 290; *Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[1] If the mother of a dead child was a junior wife she was entitled to the position of a chief wife for herself and her relatives.—N.G.M.

No. 4 is the mother's father, or her brother. Nos. 5 and 6 are the 764
mother's sisters, or failing them a close friend of the deceased. It [602]
will be seen that the privileged positions are occupied chiefly by
the father's kin when a son dies, but five out of six of them by the
mother's kin when a daughter dies.

Guests usually weep while waiting to be invited into the house, 764
and women outside and inside chant the dirge (*o-yo-yo-pota*). 574
Text fig. 7 B shows the order of visiting mourners. They come
in groups from different villages, each group selecting a representative, [533]
usually a chief. The men proceed, as if bowed down
with woe, to the space between the hearth and the sacred window
and their representative is led by a male relative of the deceased
to the spot marked (a). At other gatherings the conductor takes 764
the guest's left hand in his right; here he takes the right hand in 574
his left. Hands may be rubbed a little but are raised only once or
twice and reversed, that is to say with palms down and wrists 576
drooping.

In performing the act of reverential or mutual condolence
(*umusa*), also called sympathetic embrace (*umura-ipa*) on this
occasion, it would be an affront were a relative of the deceased to
put his hands above the shoulders of a visitor; the latter is clasped
below the armpits and puts his hands over the shoulders of the
former. After each visitor has said a tearful farewell to the corpse
the relative who conducts him to his place may raise the hands
normally once or twice as a token of gratitude. This is contrary [178]
to the custom of the past.

On entering the house the women turn to the left and congregate 764
at (c) near the lower hearth. They do not go to the head
of the corpse but drop their tears at its feet. 576

The elder at (a), leader of his group, after greeting the elder [782]
at (d) with his hands down, says a short prayer to Kamui Fuchi as
an act of condolence with the family. He is conducted to near the head of the corpse, sits down, bowing low with his hands on the floor, then slides along and weeps over the head, keeping his hands down. He then performs the act of mutual condolence with the six relatives, one after the other, and is conducted to (e), where those who have performed the greeting to the dead sit in line. He is followed by all the men of his group in turn, and if there are many mourners the performance may take several hours. The women also follow one another, doing the act of mutual condolence

764 (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this
[576] ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral
feast begins.

The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and
[554] this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the
body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders
specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from
[782] other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusakoro
Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered.
This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is
usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse
[782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not
towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before
[262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor,
formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc.,
[177] and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays
with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is
[178] offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting
[273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of
drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should
be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a
264 *tapkara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased.
A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young
such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder
takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray
with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by
Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders
near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the
[276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman
who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in
contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to
eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a
relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds
to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and
[537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put
in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the
individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

with the young. '*Fuo!*' is ejaculated at intervals, by some elders between every word or two. Oratory is highly esteemed and prayers and addresses are usually long. Addresses to the dead are sometimes delivered with intense fervour, evoking deep emotion. Their general tenor is sorrow with resignation and usually a reminder that the lamented one has taken the last meal with relatives and friends, and that provision has been made for the journey to, and future life in, the spirit village with the ancestors who have gone before. Advice is often given to do the will of Kamui Fuchi and to be careful not to lose the way, for it would be wrong to wander back. 764 537

Immediately after the address preparations are made for burial. The lacing cord has been attached to the grave post to keep it more or less upright, as it would be irreverent to have it lying down. In this district the post is regarded as a substitute for ancestral (*shutu*) *inau*, and its function is protective rather than memorial. The cord is used to bind the body in the mat; before this is done cuts are made in the clothes on the body, or a gesture of cutting is made. The mat is long enough to fold over head and feet, after which it is folded over the body. Skewers are thrust through the matting, first at the head and feet, and the cord is attached at its middle to the top skewer. It is wound round the bottom one and drawn taut. Six more skewers, three on each side, are thrust through the matting, and the two lengths of the cord are laced round them alternately from side to side. When they are pulled tight the body is firmly enclosed, and is then no longer called *pone* but *ot*. The process is undertaken by near relatives, but it needs experience, so an elderly woman familiar with the technique may be called in to help. This mode of burial, though general when I first knew the Ainu, has now, except in remote spots, given place to coffin burial. 764 [178]

Grave-goods

Before the processions leave the house Kamui Fuchi is besought once more to take care of the soul of the lamented and to afford protection against any mishap. The grave-goods, selected to suit the sex of the deceased, have been packed for transport. All are broken or so severely damaged that they are considered to be as dead as the corpse, that is to say that their *ramat* has been set free [782] [774]

764 [774] to serve the *ramat* of the dead. The results of inquiries in different parts of the Hokkaido indicate that most Ainu still make lavish provision for their departed relatives. The following lists include things which formerly were, and for the most part still are, considered indispensable for adult Ainu.

Grave-goods for men include: a bow with arrows in a quiver; a spear and a fish-spear with hook; fish-hooks and lines; a knife (*makiri*); a heavy knife bevelled on one side[1] (*tashiro*); a sword; flint and steel with tinder (now a box of matches); a pipe and tobacco; spare shoes, leggings and working clothes; a feeding-bowl and chopsticks; (food may be given in some places, but is generally thought unnecessary).

[775] [776] There is no libation wand; Ainu souls, having become *kamui*, get libations from the living, and prayer is no longer necessary. Kamui Fuchi looks after them and conveys requests.

Grave-goods for women include: a loom (*attush karap*); a spindle (*kanit*); thick needles for shoes and thinner ones for clothes; various kinds of thread; a chemise (*mouri*) and two other spare garments; shoes; an iron pot, a bowl, a spoon and a cooking-spoon; for an old woman usually a pipe and tobacco and now matches; a knife and a sickle; a digging-stick or pick (*shittap*) made from a branch or the antler of a stag. Many of these objects are scarce and difficult to replace; their inclusion in the grave-goods is evidence of the strength of the ancestral cult.

Burial Rites and Customs

The wrapped corpse is attached by the hempen straps to the carrying-pole (*chihoma-ni*), an oak or ash sapling. When this mode of burial is followed the corpse leaves the house feet foremost and, [178] it is said, was formerly carried to the grave in this way. Now that coffins are in fashion it is often turned round outside the house to [184] go head first. At Piratori the body still goes feet first, but at Nibutani, three miles away, the head faces the cemetery. Perhaps this is because here the cemetery is to the east, so the feet are to the west.

Burial takes place after the sun has passed the meridian. At funerals for both sexes a close female relative leads the procession, carrying a small lacquered vessel for water, another related woman

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[412] [844] [1] This shape recalls that of obsidian knives, and it was interesting to learn from Rennuikeah that in the north it was used to cut the umbilical cord. —N.G.M.

holding her hand. The chief mourner walks alone, using a walking- 764
stick which is made and used only for the funeral. He carries the
principal grave-goods in a mat-bag (*chitarabe*).[1] No one in the pro- [481]
cession turns back or looks back until the grave is reached. If a
brook has to be crossed it is bridged over; it is shameful to the [823]
dead and disrespectful to Wakka-ush Kamui to contaminate pure water by taking a corpse through it. The grave-post is carried by two male relatives.

In the past Ainu had no graveyards, burial in spots round the village being the rule. As we have seen, elders were sometimes buried near the house. But there have been graveyards for many
years, and in the second decade of this century I have known young [765]
mothers visit the graveyard to press out their milk on the grave of a baby. While adults may visit graveyards, children are forbidden to go near them, and are terrified by frightful tales.

The grave is always dug on the day of burial, which lessens the [823]
risk of its occupation by evil spirits; it is oriented slightly south of east, as is the head of the corpse.[2] It is lined with matting and two food bowls are filled with earth and placed on the ground near the west end. This has been explained to me as a device to deceive evil spirits. A sharp post is driven into the bottom of the grave, at the head end, to make a hole for the grave-post, which is inserted after the grave has been covered in. In this district the grave-post is inserted on the left side for a man and on the right for a woman.

On the way to the grave the women continue to weep and chant the dirge, and this goes on during the burial. I am told that some Ainu of Sakhalin throw themselves on to the ground at the graveside, even in snow or mud, and wail loudly. Near relatives gather round the head of the grave, but there does not seem to be the same formal order of precedence as there is in the house.

The body is lowered gently; sudden movement might harm the dead and would alarm the living. The rope is cut, and is never used again. Tobacco-pipe, tray, food-bowl and chopsticks are placed by the head, the bowl being inverted on the tray. Most of the other grave-goods are placed at the foot. Some of the metal goods were

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[1] It is said that grave goods for a male were put into a man's bag and for a female into a woman's. (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] It was usually oriented so that the head pointed upstream (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 843 [184] When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (together opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably informed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal, dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused was acquitted.

764 178 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting, even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district (earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole, and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which was then covered with earth.

764 [789] [783] When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purification of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces, is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circumstances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

764 778

The Ritual of the Grave-post

[184] [532] Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu inau*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with

elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts 764
six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are 778
not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet
high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like [184]
a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular [532]
top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are
attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing
cord wound round them.

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there [531]
are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.[1]
These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui
Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom [776]
she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the [774]
deceased to the ancestors.

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream [782]
where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body
on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accompany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui
applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic [823]
water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by
Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together up-raising milk).

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out 764
on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been 778
placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post.

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is [774]
regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is [776]
free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits. The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared).

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[1] In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark [184]
the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161–2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W.

DEATH AND BURIAL

782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
776 *shutu inau kamui* is made from elder wood, at the house, before the
funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are invoked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray. The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east. There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu inau kamui*.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is regarded
[551] not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,[1] that is to say a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or, sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in performing the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

765
Rites and Customs After Burial

While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

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[192] [1] *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are
[422] called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with *itokpa*.—H.W.

wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put 765
ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515]
method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783]
is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are
purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow
valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are
said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed').
After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close
to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576]
condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends
along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made [782]
the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making
the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with '*fuo!*'
and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done
safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks
is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*,
which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal,
which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the following 764
funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned 178
inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over 291
the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted.
Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship [593]
of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned
the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one 765
outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was 178
clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). 291
A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of
years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged
Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302]
men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men
seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level
of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed.
Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292]
cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled
and sewn on one side.

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765 783 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed. Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the north to the south. [778] A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

[789] [775] [776] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard, are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away *wen kamui*.

768 There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide one for himself. 768 184 178 Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

789 *Variants in Funeral Customs*

775 184 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennuikesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. [731] The same device is sometimes used when an epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

DEATH AND BURIAL

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral 764
food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not 184
offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abe-ochi [262]
Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri,
called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide
it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and [776]
only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white
mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken.
The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They
differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as
amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave.
The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed,
that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard [177]
(*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give
her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common [264]
meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two
women with garments reversed take food left over from the common
meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the
house on the way to the grave.

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt
occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post
rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is
called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is
usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly
reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts [778]
differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles
the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm.
Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top
of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and
no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto
and other places in the north.

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed 765
take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but 184
don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that [291]
[302]

765

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184
302
[912]

formerly all mourners cut off some of their hair, but that it is no longer the rule at Mokoto. In excess of grief a young widow may announce her determination never to marry again by cutting her hair short, but, as the wise old man remarked—'That does not prevent it from growing again!'

XII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by B. Z. Seligman

THIS CHAPTER is compiled from various sources. In it 128
I have brought together information contained in letters 127
written by Munro to C. G. Seligman and references to social organization scattered in different parts of Munro's original typescript, as well as some notes he wrote on the sacred girdles (*kut*) for a chapter in this book. Notes he made for various articles, both published and unpublished, are also included. I have added information given in the English summaries of articles in the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* for 1951, and further information from these translated for me by Mr Watanabe, in answer to enquiries.

Early in 1934 Munro wrote saying he had discovered the exist- 292
ence of the women's secret girdles and their importance in the 789
regulation of marriage as well as their magical power.[1] Because of [582]
his success in treating serious illness, he gained the confidence of
Ainu women, two of whom (Pl. XXVII) overcame their extreme [123]
diffidence in mentioning the subject and gave him much valuable
information. He found out that every woman wears a belt of

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[1] While investigating this subject Munro was obliged to exercise extreme [688]
caution, as any misfortune, from a toothache to a fatality, was attributed to infringement of the injunction to secrecy. While he was able to dispose of the former easily, the latter—the death of a child suffering from an incurable malady which he was treating—caused him considerable anxiety, and he was only able to overcome this difficulty with great tact and patience.

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292 prescribed design and length under her clothing.[1] This is called the 789 *upshoro* (or *upsoro*) *kut*, but in ancient tradition it is referred to as [195] *a-eshimukep*. *A* is an honorific corresponding to the Japanese *O*, and *eshimukep* means 'most hidden thing'. Other names used only by old people are *ishirimauriri* meaning 'sustaining great [or bodily] strength', *raun kut* or *ram kut*, under-girdle or soul or spirit girdle. At first he discovered only three types of *kut*, which were [611] said to indicate three lines of matrilineal descent and were associated respectively with Wakka-ush Kamui, the deity of fresh water, Kim-un Kamui, the bear deity and Rep-un Kamui, the sea deity or grampus. Each type is woven in a particular way, with a definite [283] number of strands and attached tabs, and is made of wild flax (*hai*). Every woman inherits from her mother her type of *kut*; men are [428] supposed to have no knowledge of them and are never allowed to [869] see them; even among themselves women are cautious about talking of them or exposing them. Girls are taught that they must not reveal the secret of their girdle to anyone. At the time of Munro's [182] investigations in the early thirties many young women were no longer capable of making girdles for themselves, and older women had to do it for them when a new one was required. They knew little more than the names of the *kamui* to whom their girdles were dedicated. The *kut* were reputed to have magical powers by means of which women were said to be able to calm a storm, hold back

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[1] The following is extracted from a letter dated April 14th, 1934, from Munro: [804] 'There is a special measure for the girdle, as I am informed by two women independently. The girdle, or rather its cord, is measured between the outstretched hands, the cord (*tush*) being held between the end of the thumb and the forefinger. . . . Obviously the span differs in different persons. But there is another source of difference in length. I am told that women of small size measure the difference between the sum of the measured lengths thus obtained and the conventional length for a special deity by a short measure between the shoulder joint and the thumb, while those of large size measure it between the top of the sternum and the thumb. Both these are called *atem* (*at-tem*, half arm's length) though there is a difference of several inches. The length between the outstretched arms is called *shine-tem* or one arm's stretch. They call this now by the Japanese name, one *ken*, which is 6 feet, and would say that a *tush* is so many *ken* and a half. Obviously such measurements are not constant. [428] Moreover . . . the *kut* is strictly private in each family line of matrilineal succession, so increment of difference in length is unavoidable. However, women interrogated separately are quite positive that the length of their own cord has not changed, because the measure was handed down from the sacred ancestral source. Unfortunately, I can find no note as to the age at which girls were first given their girdles, whether a small girdle was given to young girls, and whether the first assumption of the girdle was accompanied by any ceremony.'

a tidal wave or a conflagration and repel the *kamui* of smallpox.[1] 292 789

No woman may marry a man whose mother has the same type of *kut* as herself. This was confirmed by further investigation, both by Munro himself and later by Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura. (See *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 187.) [582]

Munro discovered five more types, respectively associated with Korokeu Kamui, the wolf; Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui, fox; Kapachiri Kamui, eagle; Moyuk, badger or racoon, and Isepo Kamui, hare, the members of which were said to be protected from the occurrence of hare lip.[2] 292 789 776 In one letter Munro mentioned a girdle associated with Kamui Fuchi, and two of the girdles he collected are labelled 'attributed to Kamui Fuchi'. However, as all women believe themselves to be allied to the fire goddess, who gave instructions for the making of the girdles, the possibility of these specimens being associated with theriomorphic *kamui* as well as Kamui Fuchi is not excluded. [126] In prayer to Kamui Fuchi petitioners describe themselves as her grandchildren, and Munro frequently refers to her as 'the Great Ancestress, supreme over the ancestral cult'. [782] She is invoked by elders before any other *kamui* is approached, and her special backward-shaven *inau* are given her on all ceremonial occasions. The hearth is sacred to her and is her resting place in every home. She is revered as a 'weighty' *kamui*—perhaps the most important of all—but it is not clear that she is regarded by men as the ancestress of all Ainu in their ancestral cult.

The wearer of the Rep-un Kamui (grampus) *kut*, a woman of about 85 years old, told Munro that the younger sister of the grampus *kamui* married an Ainu, and she regarded her as an ancestress. It should be noted that all *kamui* associated with the *upshoro-kut* are members of the Ainu pantheon as well as being specific to certain matrilineal kin groups, and all except Kamui Fuchi and Wakka-ush Kamui, the deities of fire and of fresh water,

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[1] When Munro's house was burnt down he did not know of the power that women were able to exercise by means of their *kut*, but he noticed that a group of women about fifty yards away stood waving their arms—presumably driving away the fire by means of the power they exercised on account of their *kut*.

[2] Members of the Isepo *kut* lineage are said to be of lower status than the other *kut*. A legend states that a young hunter saw a beautiful maiden weaving a cord in the forest. She was overcome by shame at being seen by a man while performing her secret task. She was obliged to marry him to hide her shame, and she became Isepo Kamui. [173]

292

789 are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain
776 information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the
[123] number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any
information indicating whether one deity was associated with more
than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no
woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her
[825] *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without
[841] it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile
demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a
[791] woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near
[688] him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman
were found guilty she would be punished.

126 With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women
123 informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were
292 woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of
the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to
789 Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum
(Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

292 When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he
789 was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence
of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness
[582] of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate
[887] the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that
the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

114 These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal
614 clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis
174 and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in
existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript
for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This 114
has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or 614
totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or 174
from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence;
there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some [613]
ekashi could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for 611
as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of
kut exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent [613]
(*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship. [61]
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral 597
offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be 292
of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is 789
available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. 582
The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third genera- 611
tion seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to [182]
matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

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[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing. [114]

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context. [114]

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

611 Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura show that these four generations of common descent, including the speaker, form part of an important social group:

[61] *Ir-matainu:* the female uterine descendants of one woman for four descending generations.

Ir-matainu esap utar: male uterine descendants of the same woman for four generations.

Matikir esap utar: a group composed of the males and females descended in the uterine line from one woman for four generations. Within this group marriage is prohibited.

611 Munro has noted the bond of *kut* kinship in the Shinurapa cere-
582 mony and in burial customs (Chapters VIII and XI). Mr Sugiura
has recorded the case of a girl who married a man in a distant
village. The only member of her *huchi-ikir* in her husband's village
is her uterine great-grandmother's sister's uterine great-grand-
[602] daughter. These two women assist one another in all crises—in
childbirth, illness, funerals, etc.—and discuss together matters
[844] which otherwise would be secret.[1] Mr Sugiura also notes that a
woman's first child is usually born in her parents' house, presumably so that she may be attended by a woman of her own *huchi-ikir*.

604 Munro states that the mother's brother has more voice in the
582 selection of a husband for his sister's daughter than the girl's own
father, but he could not hear of any special privilege or duties existing between a man and his sister's son.

611 The above information points to the existence of an exogamous
614 group limited to four generations from one woman in matrilineal
descent. The kinship ties are important for women within this group but are ignored by men. Although Mr Sugiura names a group—*matikir esap utar*—within which marriage is forbidden, he does not record any evidence that this is recognized by men as a corporate group within which any religious rites, duties or privi-

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[1] Through the kindness of Professor John Barnes I have seen a complete translation of Mr Sugiura's article in *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology*. In it is a genealogy of the two women mentioned above. Their matrilineal great-grandmothers were sisters, but the names of the parents of these sisters are not given, and the names of their brother and of the husbands of the two ancestresses were unknown. Thus, Mr Sugiura supports Munro's evidence that women trace their matrilineal descent only three generations back. It must also be noted that *matikir esap utar* is not a bilateral kindred group. The only males included in it are the brothers and the sons of the female members, not the male and female offspring of brothers and sons, as in a kindred group.

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not 611
clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it 614
by way of definition in answer to investigation.

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence 684
occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty
was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If [692]
there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed [582]
to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man
seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable
to murder.

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro re- 611
corded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the 292
instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, 789
are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy:

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established 587
   custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states
   that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed,
   but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that [591]
   a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be
   responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house [589]
   was built for her.
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters hav- 595
   ing the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was per- [611]
   mitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the
   poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer [292]
   to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1] [789]

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[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established [439] trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her.

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4. It was forbidden for two brothers to marry two sisters, and the Ainu told Munro that the prohibition was enjoined by the *kut*. An old tradition states: '*Iri-guru, iri menoko, koro yakun utushte ekapne newa shomsan pure ne*', freely translated, 'Male blood relations with female blood relations co-wives is not custom'. It may be that this was motivated by the same idea underlying number 3. Mr Watanabe made a note at Otopuke that a very old woman told him of the same prohibition. (He recorded one case of infringement of this prohibition in another settlement.) She gave no reason but volunteered the information that a man may not marry his deceased wife's sister. [587] Munro was also told that this marriage was formerly prohibited and, though not forbidden at the time of his investigation, it was still unpopular. The usual reason given, as in number 3, was that two sisters are one in the bond of the *kut*. These three prohibitions appear to be connected with the levirate, not with *kut* exogamy.
5. A man could not marry his mother's sister's daughter because of *kut* exogamy. But there was no prohibition against marriage with the father's brother's daughter nor with the cross cousin. However, Munro only recorded two cousin marriages and those were with cross cousins.

   It was thought that it was permissible for a man or woman to marry his or her brother's child, but Munro never heard of an actual case.

582 Munro recorded 98 marriages[1] and their offspring, naming upwards of 350 people, all of whom were related or connected in some way by marriage. There were no infringements of the above rules in the Nibutani marriages. It was said that dire misfortune would follow the breach of matrilineal exogamy; in the old days it would have been punished by death. There was a tradition of a couple who had sinned in this way and who hid themselves in a deep gully where a stream afterwards sank into the ground and disappeared. A story was told to Munro of a couple who, over a century earlier, had settled near Nibutani but dared not disclose their identity because of their transgression. After a long period of isolation the elders took pity on them and allowed them to become [611] members of the *kotan*. At the time of Munro's investigations it was customary for the parents of a couple who were matrilineally re-

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[114] [1] It is not clear whether these marriages were all between people living at the time of the investigation. It is probable that Munro's informants gave him the details of marriages occurring in both ascending and descending generations.

lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, 582
and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine [611]
used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged [782]
to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*.

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a 595
neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife
and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including 587
dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of 688
Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to
such behaviour.

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of 588
different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was 688
looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of
which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one
child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evildoers.

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a 585
poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding 782
ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite
payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the [583]
materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for
the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is
invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the
sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro,
makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the
cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As
she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it
gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she [576]
drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the fore-
finger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her [788]
upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she
refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony [591]
is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in
her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for [844]
the birth of her first child.

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchikorpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura 428

Mr. Sugiura
428 states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is
[759] inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the
[791] eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to
[611] sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them.
According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

769 Before examining the evidence for patriliny and its relation to
[554] ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered.
It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it
[192] also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*.
Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The
[764] *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary
to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offerings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may
[611] be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage.
These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being
769 invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

551 The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced
[177] compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu
[103] place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well, there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions. Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, however, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ancestor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been con-
[182] sidered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor
cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social

organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that 769
the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the reli- 551
gious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life [182]
as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages.

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire ceremony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the house- [782]
holder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted.

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common 614
patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see
Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the head- 301
dress and is represented on certain other objects.[1] The badges are
handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must [4 28]
be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups.

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's head- 292
gear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1).

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[1] Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above, associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states [184]
that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the
Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which [776]
he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult.

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292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this
century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe
states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added
to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the
whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder
is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation
wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani.
Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on
sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern districts.
782 However, he considered that the northerners had retained
some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
422 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
532 regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him
[115] at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau*
stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it
[769] would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize,
that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX,
fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated
to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un
Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning
Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to
the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated
that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which
represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several
elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro
says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in
combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common
descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship
terms.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion 614 of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices 796 of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other 776 *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations [422] of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) [532] concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; 825 bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony— 796 actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite 776 performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfor- [114] tunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

776 795 *Kotan* has been translated 'village' when the local settlement 769 only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning 825 in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult [621] of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

795 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent
769 neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a
825 protector (*shiroutki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings
776 and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru dis-
[184] trict every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashiikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl,
[778] both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the
[614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri-
[423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above by Rennuikesh.

795 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky)
769 was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village)
776 as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no in-
114 formation to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *kamui* of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal cult.

795 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patri-
769 lineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to
614 various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782
845
[184]
[1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

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This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown 795
nusa, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important 769
elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan 614
Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). 782
Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, 845
p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-
thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in [184]
certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below),
territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the
ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, suc- 622
cession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was 182
called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro
was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. [681]
Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that
since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunt-
ing and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has dis-
integrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal [621]
family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8
Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged 621
with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights 423
in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring [224]
bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Per-
sons not belonging to these groups could not become members of
the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given
its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted.
Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain [428]
exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son.
These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on
the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite
poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of an-
other *kotan* without permission.

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land 621
for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, 423
but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found 182
the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was [657]
associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's [114]
somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity
particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear [776]
deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*. [769]

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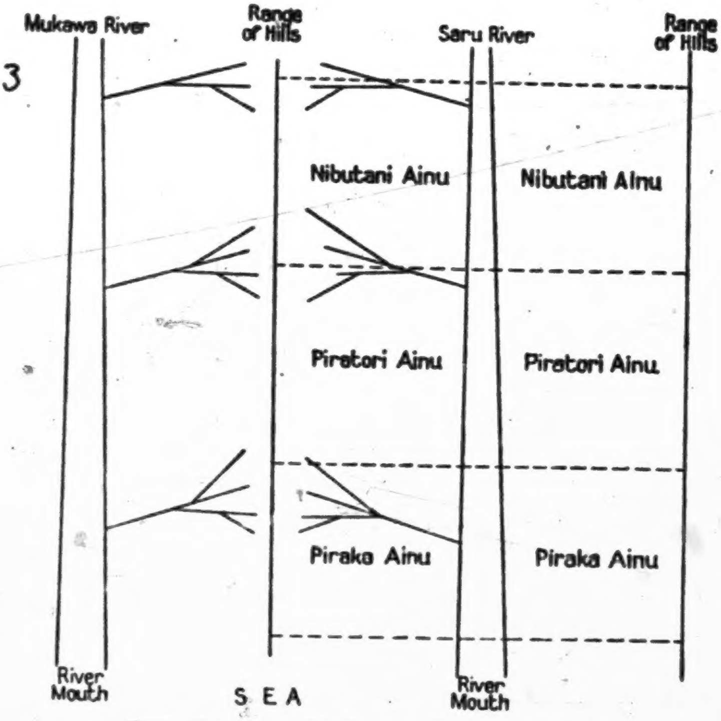
769 [778] [301] Munro states that the 'disembodied ones' (*Anaishiri*) are the dead in the ancestral line (*shinrit*). He suggested that all *shutu inau* were representations of ancestors, and he considered them to be effigies.

[776] Most of the headband-badges have reference to the same animal spirits which are also associated with the women's *kut*.

621
423


Mukawa River
Range of Hills
Saru River
Range of Hills
Nibutani Ainu
Nibutani Ainu
Piratori Ainu
Piratori Ainu
Pirako Ainu
Piraka Ainu
River Mouth
S E A
River Mouth

TEXT FIGURE 8.—Fishing and Hunting Rights.

Note. Other *Kotans* are not indicated. The dotted lines are simply intended to represent the principle of assigning rights by mutual agreement. The watersheds form the boundaries.

776 To sum up:

769 614 Among the large number of *kamui* associated with the needs of all Ainu, and appealed to by all for their help, are some who receive special worship from the men of certain patrilineages and are

associated in these lineages with the ancestor cult.[1] These *kamui* 776
receive esoteric ancestral worship as well as the worship paid them 769
by the whole population. 614

A number of the *kamui* associated with the patrilineal ancestral
cult are also associated with some of the women's matrilineal kin 776
groups and are worshipped by the women of such groups separately. 769
These women's matrilineal kin groups and the men's patrilineages 611
worshipping the same *kamui* seem to be quite separate,
and there is no hint of exogamous prohibition between them. Each
sex worships separately, and both regard this worship as ancestral
and secret. In each group the members of one sex only recognize
kinship obligations and render one another mutual aid.

One *kamui* stands in a special relationship to women, Kamui 769
Fuchi. She resides in the hearth of every Ainu home, and all 776
women regard her as their own ancestress. She acts as intermediary
between the elders and all other *kamui*. When any *kamui* is invoked, [782]
the elder first prays to her and offers her an *inau*. There is
no evidence that she has an *itokpa* or other sign to show that she [778]
is especially attached to any patrilineage.

The patrilineages are territorial corporate groups, formerly owning 614
defined areas where they held the sole rights of hunting, fishing
and collecting.[2] The matrilineal kin groups are scattered, but 611
are bound together by ties of mutual obligations. Each group worships 769
separately chosen members of the Ainu pantheon closely [423]
associated with its own ancestors.

It is difficult to classify the structure of the Ainu social system. 611
It is not a double unilineal descent system (as I once supposed)[3] as

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[1] Professor Fortes has drawn my attention to the similarity of this condition to that of the Yoruba, among whom the gods (*orisha*) are believed to have been originally ancestors. Any one of these gods may be worshipped by certain lineage groups or by individual members of different groups. These gods are common to all Yoruba, but particular lineages, or individuals, select an individual god for special worship (Bascom, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South Africa*, Part IV). [171]

[2] Mr Watanabe, between 1954 and 1957, carried out further investigations in Tokapachi district and obtained more information concerning the old hunting and fishing areas, including the salmon-spawning beds and aconite gathering localities. His work shows the importance of the patrilineages as corporate groups.

[3] See footnote 1, p. 145. See also *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1950: Daryll Forde, *Double Descent Among the Yakö*, pp. 285–332, and S. F. Nadel, *Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills*, pp. 333–359.

611 that implies the recognition of matriliny and patriliny by both sexes for different functions. Nor is it what I have called an asymmetrical system,[1] i.e. single unilineal descent accepted by one sex and bilateral descent accepted by the opposite sex. The Ainu system has double unilineal elements, in that both matriliny and patriliny are recognized, but it is unusual in that each sex acknowledges only the line of its own sex. It is asymmetrical in that exogamy is ruled by matriliny, men acquiescing because of their mothers' matrilineal kin group, of which, however, they profess to be ignorant. Such a system is obviously incompatible with clan organization, as no clan could function if composed of a single sex. [614] However, it is not incompatible among the Ainu, where patrilineal territorial grouping, descent and ancestral worship are unlimited for men, while matrilineal descent and ancestral worship for women is limited to the descendants of the great-great-grandmother.

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[1] 'Asymmetry in Descent', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LIX, January 1922.

APPENDIX I : Invocations to the Kamui for Help in Cases of Severe Illness

THE following notes, legends and invocations, with the Ainu originals which Munro took down from dictation, were among the papers brought to me by Signor Fosco Maraini in 1960. The Ainu versions are deposited with the Royal Anthropological Institute.—B.Z.S. 114

Translation of *Upashkoma* (traditional lore):

Concerning the origin of fire and diverse deities, including Pauchi Kamui who started an epidemic of Dancing Mania among the Ainu. 539 776

In the beginning of Ainu Land, Moshiri-kara Kamui [the world-creating deity] originally caused the poplar tree to grow before all other trees. So the poplar wood was then used for fire-making [by friction], but fire was slow to come forth. Thereupon, the god, being angered, blew with his mouth upon the *retara karapash* [the white friction powder first resulting from the rub of the fire-sticks], which flew like a rising flock of birds and became Pauchi Kamui. Fire, failing to come forth from the *kunne karapash* [the subsequent black powder charred by friction], the god, enraged, blew by mouth upon it, and it was as a rising flock of black birds. This thing became Pakoro Kamui [the god of pestilence]. Then *Karasoho* [the passive piece of the fire-drill] was named the strange world powers of evil [Moshiri Shinnaisam], and became that harmful deity. Then the *katchi* [the active stick] was named Iwai-etunnai [the distant and abhorrent thing], an evil deity. Then the Chikisa-ni [a variety of elm tree] was taken in hand for fire-making. The white powder became Niso Sanke Mat[1] [female brought forth from the *niso* or the passive piece of the drill]. Then from the black powder fire came forth. Then from the lower piece Kamui Fuchi emerged. Then the active fire-stick became Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi[1] [the guardian of the village community].

Thus very ancient is Pakoro Kamui. Pauchi Kamui,[1] being a deity of no grave importance, gets no *inau*.

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[1] Footnotes concerning Niso Sanke Mat, Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi and Pauchi Kamui, which were indicated, have not been found.—B.Z.S.

APPENDIX I

Translation of *Uebekere* (legend):

539. *Uepekan and the doings of Pauchi Kamui.*

In a region of the Ishikari river was a person called Uepekan. News came to Uepekan that flighty flockings of the folk in his village were being roused by Pauchi Kamui. Behind this [mischievous glamouring by Pauchi] he was, as it were, the trigger cord of a spring-bow set in ambush, the thread of a spider [awaiting its prey]. He alone of all the Ainu could see the outstretched line of the spring-bow, the slightest touch of which must be warily shunned. He felt keen family anxiety for his relatives who could not keep clear of it. By invoking the gods, this evil, after long and wearisome struggle, finally disappeared.

After it had been entirely driven out of his district, there appeared before him a lovely woman, with face illumined as if by lightning, who tripped laughingly—yes laughing!—up to him. [This supernatural being was no other than the chief retainer of the deluding deity, Pauchi. Her wiles having been set at naught by the insight and strength of Uepekan, she had come to love him.] Thus she spake:

"Ainu master, my heart is far too strongly touched [for a goddess]. I can resist no more. To me it seemed good to have amusement [of dancing] with you. But this cannot be since you have made it impossible. Master, I must now expose my body, hitherto seen by no mortal man, that I may prove my true wish to abide peacefully with you as your wife for ever. Do listen to me!"

(Answered Uepekan):

'If it be as you say, divine maid in human form, I worshipfully am willing. My divine wife having shown her own body to prove her true choice, I shall evermore be thankful.'

Thereafter, when Uepekan took a long walk to any place in summer, a heavy but passing shower of rain visited it before his arrival. In winter, before he reached his destination, it was visited by a violent though quickly ceasing storm of wind and hail.

An account by Munro of the dancing mania:

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Allowing for slight variations in individual accounts there is remarkable unanimity in the statements given by *ekashi*. Sporadic outbursts are said to have occurred; the most widespread and violent epidemic was between two and three centuries ago, counting roughly by generations. It seems to have spread like wild-fire. Men and women under an irresistible mimetic impulse 'rose like flocks of birds'. Leaping and

dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of 158
complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others 786
to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there.
Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost
so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed
themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine
modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle.
. . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued
its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred.
. . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were
neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For
the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations
was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena
prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much
exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self- [776]
control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous
spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their
doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions
which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu 158
followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their
island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its 786
resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women 648
as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted
to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed
and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put
the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common 158
among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, 755
neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive
actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, [791
and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an 753
evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fuchi has been invoked, the 776
snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui.
In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the 778]
south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled
shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3).
When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is
comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she 158
retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said
not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it

158 continued to occur intermittently. There are certain advantages in being
recognized as an *imu*; there is a camaraderie among *imu* women, and
both adults and children are encouraged to laugh at them.

158 The transmutation of a neurosis to *tusu* is somewhat similar. The
791 evil spirit will be drawn out of her body by purification, and a good
spirit will remain her guardian and her spirit guide when she is called
[775] upon to act as medium. This is often Kinashut Kamui, or it may be a
[825] 'good fox' or a 'repulsive caterpillar', or a hornet, but it is never that of
a deceased person as is commonly the case in Europe.—B.Z.S.

755 Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kamui Fuchi before invoking
158 Kinashut Kamui, to procure transmutation of an incapacitating or
782 distressing neurosis to *Imu*

539 Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, concerning the health of this Ainu
791 woman, she has been ardently desired by an inferior relative of Kinashut
Kamui who has enwrapped her body in the toils of his evil magic. If the *imu* talk can issue from her mouth and purification be done upon her, she shall be free to recover. Although she has severe sickness upon her and difficult trouble within, it can be disentangled and driven out from this Ainu woman, since Kinashut Kamui is exceedingly quick to hear an appeal. A messenger of Kamui Fuchi with *inau* can bear the message to Kinashut Kamui. Although there are very numerous relatives of Kinashut Kamui, he can discern the wrongdoer.

Doing *imu* talk through her mouth [as mouthpiece of Kinashut Kamui], being inspired to a flow of chatter by Kinashut Kamui, many children will be amused and will laugh aloud with great outbursts of laughter, Kinashut Kamui will probably be delighted [to hear the merriment].

This Ainu woman—her body fully cleared by sweeping away [the evil influence]—please give strength to her arms that she may work well in the fields. Make Kinashut Kamui to hear by messenger that a *kamui* – an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui—making a great quarrel, with virulent power has tied up the Ainu person in the toils of evil magic. Doing purification from above, Kinashut Kamui by his *kamui takusa* may sweep away from the Ainu person [the evil magic]. Nusa-koro Kamui can use his *kamui takusa* through his dependent relatives [inferior relations]. Kinashut Tono [chief] by his own *takusa*, Nusa-koro Kamui through the *takusa* of his assistant deities, by their mutual magic force, by their united strength of arms this Ainu woman may have exorcising purification. That the Ainu person may recover through the united minds of the *kamui* and the brushing away [of evil magic] this is besought.

APPENDIX I

Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kinashut Kamui for *imu* transmutation from incapacitating or distressing neurosis

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(This is preceded by the *innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi and a very similar one to Nusa-koro Kamui which, however, conveys the request that he—Nusa-koro Kamui—will persuade Kinashut Kamui to obey the behest of Kamui Fuchi and counteract the evil done by his unruly lower relative, usually a snake of some kind. After this, Kinashut Kamui is directly invoked)—

Kinashut Tono [chief of the snakes] will probably have heard the message of Kamui Fuchi. Nusa-koro Kamui, listening to this invocation will probably turn his head this way [pay attention]. This Ainu woman, incontinently desired by your lower relative, has had evil magic put upon her, binding her body. Now as regards this wicked magic, after purification the *imu* talk will issue from the Ainu mouth. Prepare to remove the evil influence from the Ainu person. Kamui Fuchi will probably be thankful.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi before calling Kinashut Kamui, for transmutation to *tusu* in case of a severe neurosis where *imu* could not be obtained by the correct rite

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, the life of this Ainu woman has been incontinently sought by a lower relative of Kinashut Kamui. Hence the body of this Ainu woman has been bound up in the magic toils of an ill-tempered *kinashut*. Having applied purification throughout, *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If she has that speech, please look at the divine treasure in the Ainu [her] hand, for with the *inau*, the *kike chinoye inau*, she makes the woman's thankful gesture [*korai-mik*]. She will probably be joyful in her heart that the Ainu body may probably improve in health.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kinashut Kamui for transmutation to *tusu* when the *ekashi* has failed to induce the preferable *imu*

Kinashut Tono, it seems that one of your many lower relations seeks incontinently to possess the body of this Ainu woman, because he has tied up her whole body till now with evil magic. Kinashut Tono can discover among his own relations the evilly disposed one. Purification completed, the Ainu body having recovered, afterwards *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If so, the Ainu master [of her home] will be thankful. With *chinoye inau kike*, this Ainu woman with *tusu* tongue and upraising hands will reverently make offering, giving thanks to Kinashut Kamui as guardian of her life. Accordingly, you are entreated to give commands to your inferior relatives.

APPENDIX I

A Series of Fourteen Invocations

782 845 776 755 This series of invocations deals with appeals for help to the *kamui* in difficult or protracted labour, and presumably, when the help is granted and the child is born, the series need not be completed. No. 3 of the series is missing. It is an invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui asking him to tell Kinashut Kamui to expel the *wen kamui* obstructing the passage of the child.

It will be noted that the first in the series is to Kamui Fuchi; she cannot come in contact with the impurity of birth, so she is told that her assistant Uari Kamui is anxious, and she is asked to summon, in due course, all the other *kamui* who can help. She is told that the gifts of offerings [*inau*] should surely stir them to action. They must drive away the evil *kamui*. The second in the series invokes Uari Kamui directly. The method of calling an important *kamui* first, and then his assistant, is repeated in the case of Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui [Nos. 3 and 4], and again when 'the spider' Ashke Tanne Mat is called [Nos. 10 and 11]. In No. 12 Wakka-ush Kamui is called before the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, is invoked.

782 1. *Innono itak* (*invocations, lit. 'prayer-talk'*) *to Kamui Fuchi*

845 539 755 776 Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, as this is a painful and difficult labour Uari Kamui is disturbed and anxious. Please send a message in haste to your higher and lower assistants in their proper order. The gift of *inau* with the message to *kamui* of courage and feeling will surely rouse them to activity [lit. 'wake them up']. Usually the pains are gentle and easy. But when any evil spirit [*wen kamui*], full of malice, puts on his wicked magic, labour continues difficult. With your spirit helpers, the brave *kamui* Mintara-ush Guru and the brave *kamui* Ru-koro Kamui [gods of the precincts and the privy, respectively], whoever these *wen kamui* [evil spirits] may be; with these brave *kamui* [spirit-helpers, right arms striking] in turn, it is as if the others [evil spirits] are not. Humbly, with diffidence in the presence of Iresu Kamui, they can save the Ainu person by means of their *takusa* [purification switches]. With *takusa etiu*, by the ends of the *takusa*, any *wen kamui* can be utterly swept away. You are besought to give your orders [to act].

2. *Invocation to Ua[illegible] Kamui*

Uari Kamui, this painful and difficult [labour, understood] indeed makes this young woman fearful. Since this sudden anxiety is known to Iresu Kamui [Kamui Fuchi] she probably exhorts you in this matter to act without delay, to take the baby from the womb gently and safely and hold [preserve it]. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

APPENDIX I

4. *Invocation to Kinashut Kamui*

Surpassingly swift Thinker, Chief Kinashut! Therefore are you 782
sitting with Nusa-koro Kamui, to the west of his place [actually to the 845
north-west]. Inside [the house], near to Kamui Fuchi, the childbirth 589
goes on with difficulty. Uari Kamui, surprised and anxious, sends a 755
message for you to do something. Kamui Fuchi sends a servant to say
what I am telling you. Give attention to this. Kamui *takusa* will help 776
the suffering Ainu. Uncoiling from above downwards with your *kamui takusa* on the suffering Ainu and blowing away [hissing] you do *epiru* [exorcism by sweeping]. Afterwards will follow easy labour and delivery from the womb. Iresu Kamui will probably tender thanks.

5. *Invocation to Apa-sam Kamui*

Beside the door of the house of Iresu Kamui, Protecting Person, Echiririkek[1] Person, Brave Deity with that name! Nearby there is suffering from the evil magic put on by some *wen kamui* whereby labour continues to be difficult. Even if hiding in the earth, you can search it out, and, from the earth, with Mintara-ush Guru [deity of the precincts] can take hold of it in both arms and both sweep it away and punish it for evil doing. Afterwards Shtoruruke[2] Mat, Kamui Katkimat and your younger sister, holding her spirit *takusa* in both hands [one in each hand] will utterly sweep away from inside the home of Iresu Kamui, with the ends of the *takusa*, the rancorous *kamui*. Tell Mintara-ush Guru [outside] also to grip and punish it. Then afterwards the childbirth will go on gently and easily. Uari Kamui will receive from the womb, and hold, the baby. Iresu Kamui will probably accord thanks.

6. *Invocation to Mintara-koro Kamui or Mintara-ush Guru*

Near Iresu Kamui there is inside [the house] painful and difficult labour. Iresu Kamui being anxious about this thing selects out of many *Tunchi* [assistants or spirit-helpers] Mintara-ush Guru. To make known the tidings Iresu Kamui sends her messenger. Humbly attending to that, with *kamui takusa* held in both hands, in the presence of Iresu Kamui, you may save the Ainu person, and with *takusa* sweep away the ill-disposed *kamui* [*pito*], clearing it away by the ends of the *takusa*. Later on there will be good childbirth. Uari Kamui with both hands

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[1] *Echiririkek* implies that as water trickling down finds its way, so, my informants surmise, the name implies searching out. But this is only a plausible interpretation. The word is a proper name in this place.—N.G.M.

[2] This is a proper name for which my informants can find no meaning. The nearest dictionary interpretation that I get near to is Great-heap. Another: *Shtoruruke* also refers to the water in which the *shto* or cakes have been boiled for the Bear Festival.—N.G.M.

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845 delivering the child [taking the child from the womb] Iresu Kamui will
539 probably be thankful.

755 7. *Invocation to Ru-koro Kamui*

776 Ru-koro Kamui, inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. Therefore, Mintara-ush Guru, informed of the trouble and being near, asks Ru-koro Kamui to rise and help alongside of Iresu Kamui. Mintara-koro Kamui bears a message about this affair asking urgently that you take in your hands the *kamui takusa* and do *takusa etiu* upon the suffering Ainu. Rancorous *kamui* can be swept out by the ends of the *takusa*, and any evil *kamui* whatsoever, at last there will be an easy birth. Iresu Kamui will probably bestow thanks.

8. *Invocation to Nishu Fuchi* (*Ancestress of the Mortar*)

Nishu Fuchi, though you be called *Kotan korisme* [village dancer], you are Kamui Katkimat. Chief one of many agents of Iresu Kamui, you are about the same age and were brought up together . . . appearing as *Kotan korimse* you are Kamui Katkimat. Because within the home there is painfully difficult labour, Uari Kamui is startled and anxious at the side [of the patient]. Upon the suffering Ainu from head to feet, if, with the magic force of your outstretched arms, you thrust the spear-shadow rapidly to and fro, any *wen kamui* rancorously putting evil magic upon the Ainu will be annihilated [reduced to powder] by your magic thrust. Afterwards there will be a good childbirth. Uari Kamui, close by [the patient and child], will give protection. Iresu Kamui will surely be gladly thankful.

9. *Invocation to Soko-ni Fuchi* (*Elder Tree Ancestress*)

Soko-ni Fuchi, [existing] from the most ancient times of Ainu Land! In this way Soko-ni Fuchi is near to Kamui Fuchi in a house where there is difficult labour. On this account Uari Kamui is very anxious and makes haste to tell the trouble. Alongside of Mintara-koro Kamui, Soko-ni Fuchi holds in her hands her *kamui* [spirit] *takusa* and together with Iresu Kamui will save the suffering Ainu by blowing away [the trouble] and sweeping it away altogether by the *takusa*. Thus the rancorous *kamui* shall be entirely ousted, and with easy labour the child be born. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

10. *Invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui to order Ashke Tanne Mat, the long-fingered woman, to lend assistance. She is the Spider* kamui, *and midwife to all Ainu women*

Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. There is fresh news of great

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anxiety in this matter. Over and above these standing *inau* is something more [than the favour previously asked]. The message of Iresu Kamui has probably been heard that you grant your spirit helper Ashke Tanne Mat to save [the suffering woman]. Uari Kamui alongside adjures you to protect. Please vouchsafe this.

11. *This invocation is made directly to Ashke Tanne Mat. Like Kinashut Kamui, she is a dependant or assistant to Nusa-koro Kamui*

Ashke Tanne Mat [Long Fingered Female] Kamui Katkimat! Inside, near Iresu Kamui, is a difficult childbirth. Uari Kamui, anxious for this reason, hastens to make it known to Nusa-koro Kamui, who hearing it will probably tell what she says. Together with Uari Kamui you can help to save. Protecting close together there will be a gentle and easy delivery of the child from inside, with near at hand defence [against evil *kamui*]. Iresu Kamui will probably give thanks.

12. *Invocation to Wakka-ush Kamui to demand aid from the* kamui *of the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, the long-nailed woman*

Wakka-ush Kamui, Kamui Pase Guru! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painfully difficult labour. Uari Kamui has much anxiety. Wakka-ush Kamui is asked, together with [offerings of] *inau*, to attend to it. Condescend to command the divine agent [or assistant] Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat, to help.

13. *Invocation made directly to Ami Tanne Mat*

Agent of Wakka-ush Kamui [the god of fresh waters] Ami Tanne Mat! [long-nailed female]. Near Iresu Kamui there is certainly suffering and difficult labour. This being so, Uari Kamui is most anxious about it and has surely sent the tidings to Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat. Previously, your Chief, Wakka-ush Kamui, has had the message. His command you have probably heard, to take immediately your magic hook of iron in both hands. [This probably means to do the best with it.] Alongside [the patient] Uari Kamui is unable to save the baby in the womb. As to this, if it dies it must die. Uari Kamui being unable has therefore told Kamui Katkimat. Even if the baby dies in the womb, the suffering Ainu, at any rate, has only one soul-possessing body. Uari Kamui, near at hand, asks you to protect.

14. *This invocation to Honpusa, the penis, is a last resort*

This Honpusa, soul-bearing Kamui! From inside myself and from the womb there should be a baby. Gently and easily Uari Kamui should receive and hold it safely. An evil *kamui*, working mischief in an Ainu belly, makes labour continue to be difficult. Urgently needed, your

APPENDIX 1

782 medicine [his urine] will clear from above down the belly of the suffering
845 Ainu. If it is drunk, it will clear from above downwards any evil
539 *kamui* from the belly and drive it forth. After delivery of the baby Uari
755 Kamui shall receive it and will probably be very happy.
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APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony

I have taken the following account of the Bear Ceremony from captions of the film made by Munro circa 1931.—B.Z.S. 127 796

AS among many other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the Ainu show great reverence to all animal remains. Animals were 825 ceremonially butchered, prayers were made to their skulls and 782 gifts were offered to them so that their spirits might be pleased and return in physical form to be hunted again. All animals were treated in this respectful way, but greatest reverence was paid to the bear, which [231] was captured as a cub and kept alive in a wooden cage for some years before being ceremonially slain. Munro does not state how often this sacrifice was made, but I think only one cub was reared in a village at a time.[1] The ceremony was held at the best house in the village, and this [622] would have been the house of the *kotan* chief. After the sacrifice, there is little doubt that efforts would be made to capture another cub to rear for the next ceremony, when the cub had grown to a suitable size. The caged bear was treated with the respect due to a god (*kamui*).

Before the ritual begins, special food must be prepared. Millet is 252 pounded into flour from which the women make special dumplings— 796 large ones for the god and spirit relatives and smaller ones for Ainu guests. They will perforate these in the centre and thread them on sticks. They will also make small round cakes which will be thrown like confetti.

The day before the main ceremony, friends gather at the house of the 796 festival host, usually bringing food for the occasion. First, Kamui Fuchi 782 is given offerings at the hearth, and the people ask for her approval and protection. Then, other household deities are revered, and the gods outside the house are solicited in turn. Outside the sacred window, facing east, stand fences supporting *inau*, which are special offerings to the gods and also serve as a means of communication with them. In gala dress and head-band of sacred curled shavings, the elder offers libations to the gods. The house where the ceremony is held is a good typical Ainu [342] dwelling.

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[1] This was the normal practice, but if several cubs had been captured, they might all be sacrificed at the same time, and the ceremony for them all would be held at the house of the *kotan* chief.

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782 dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the
[824] ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offer-
ings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The
elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to
come and bless the festival with their presence.

[177] Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are
[415] set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang
ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet
[778] cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the
[353] Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be
[411] raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling,
the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Out-
796 side the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have
825 gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually,
is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It
782 has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its cap-
[574] tivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the
bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and
secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage
through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than
[824] ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu
[783] believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run
about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil
[533] influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly ad-
hered to.

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

pliments, assurances and libations. Then skinning and dividing the body 796
proceed according to strict rules of traditional ritual. The Ainu reve- 825
rently drink the blood of the bear, calling it divine medicine. 782

Cushioned on the skin, with body removed, the head of the bear is
believed still to attract the lingering spirit. Gestures of gratitude are
made and praise and libations are offered, while the sacred fire burns at
the place of the rendezvous to which it is hoped will come the World
Spirit of the Ainu, the 'Holder of Space' and source of all life on earth.
Here are placed the cups that had held the blood. During the feast
etiquette forbids one who receives the cup just filled to drink it. He [576]
makes the gesture of reverence and passes it to the person opposite. An
offering is also made to the ancestors. The women, too, make offerings
to their matrilineal forebears (see Ch. VIII, Shinurapa).

After this reverent ritual, the people enjoy themselves. Small millet [777]
balls are thrown and scrambled for because they bring luck through
intimate association with the bear *kamui*. School children play at tug of
war. The women dance at the place of the Great Offering. The spirits
and gods are present as auspicious guests, and everything must be done
to please and entertain them. Ceremonial swords are carried to guard
against evil spirits.

The final feast is held in the large house. Near the sacred East window 574
lies the head of the bear with its lingering soul as chief guest of the feast.
Food is set in front of it so that virtue may be acquired and passed on 796
to those who eat it. 825

Then the 'sacred flesh' is distributed. The Wine-Controller, who sits
beside the head of the god and opposite the large vessel of liquor, is a
responsible official who gets a goodly portion. Ordinary guests receive
small pieces of food, reverently taken in both hands. The feast includes [535]
millet beer and soon the Elders and guests begin to feel its effect. Then
men dance, and after a while the women join in.

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GLOSSARY OF WORDS USED FREQUENTLY IN THE TEXT

Bashui (or *Ikubashui*): prayer-stick or libation wand.
Chisei: dwelling, animal burrow, wasps' nest, or house.
Ekashi: elder, grandfather, ancestor.
Epiru: purification (of objects). lit. 'sweeps away'.
Fuchi: grandmother, ancestress, a title of respect.
Guru: person.
Hopuniri: lit. 'rising up', one form of ritual dismissal.
Ikubashui: see *Bashui.*
Inau: an offering to *kamui* in the form of a wooden staff with attached wood shavings:
  Chehorokakep: lit. 'thing shaven backwards', backward-shaven *inau.*
  Chikappo shian *inau: inau* made for the Eagle Owl.
  Chisei-koro *inau: inau* dedicated to the female spirit, Kenru Katkimat.
  Inau chiba: plenteous or overflowing *inau*; *nusa* dedicated to more than one *kamui.*
  Inumba inau: the beer-straining *inau.*
  Kike chinoye *inau:* twisted shaven *inau.*
  Kike parase *inau:* outspread shaven *inau.*
Innono: prayer.
Iomande: lit. 'despatch'; form of ritual dismissal for the *kamui.*
Inoka: image.
Inumbe: wooden frame surrounding the hearth.
Itokpa: sign cut on certain *inau* stems and on some other objects.
Iwakte: lit. 'sending away'. A form of ritual dismissal.
Kamui: god or spirit.
Kamui-kotan: the abode of the dead.
Kara: to make; occasionally incorporated in names.
Kenru: house.
Koro: to possess; frequently incorporated in names.
Kotan: village, or village community.
Kut: see *upshoro kut.*
Kuwa: grave-post.
Mawe: magic, also breath or wind.
Nitue: hard or stubborn.

GLOSSARY

104 *Nomi:* prayer, worship.
Nusa: a group of *inau*.
Ongami: salutation.
Oripak: awe.
Pakoro: punishing.
Pase: weighty or important (i.e. *pase kamui*, *pase ongami*, *pase nomi*).
Pirika: good, beautiful.
Pon: small.
Ram: soul.
Ramat: soul or spirit. lit. 'heart'.
Roroun puyara: sacred window.
Shinrit: ancestral spirits. lit. 'roots'.
Shintoko: vessels, usually lacquered; also large tubs used for the sacred beer.
Shinurapa: the Feast 'of All Souls', or 'Falling Tears'.
Shongo: messenger.
Takusa: a switch of grass or foliage used in purification.
Turenbe: spirit possession by good or bad spirits.
Tusu: female medium.
U-eshopki: ritual (lit. 'mutual') seating at ceremonies.
Ukakik: purification (of persons). lit. 'striking down'.
Ukara: old traditions.
Umusa: mutual condolence.
Upashkoma itak: traditional lore.
Upshoro kut: woman's secret girdle.
Wen: evil.
  Wen kamui: evil spirits.
  Wen yuk: evil bears.

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/Additional information on prayer sticks, frequently referred to as "moustache-lifters," may be found in category 413./

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/Information on the "sacred" women's girdles will be found in categories 292 and 789./